THE IMAGE OF THE JEW IN BYZANTINE ART

Elisabeth Revel-Neher

Published for the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism (SICSA), The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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by

ELISABETH REVEL-NEHER

Translated from the French by

DAVID MAIZEL

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To Suzy Dufrenne

who taught me to search for the Word in the truth of images
with deferent gratitude and deep affection.

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List of Abbreviations

AB	Art Bulletin
AJA	American Journal of Archeology
BASOR	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BYZ	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CA	Cahiers Archéologiques
CC	Corpus Christianorum
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorium Christianorum orientalium
CSCEL	Corpus Scriptorium Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Architecture Chrétienne et de Liturgie, Paris, 1907–53, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EI	Eretz Israël, Archeological, Historical and Geographical Studies
EJ	Encyclopedia Judaica
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
HSLA	Hebrew University Studies in Literature and the Arts
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
IEJ	Israël Exploration Journal
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JJA	Journal of Jewish Art
JA	Jewish Art
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute
MEFR	Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire
NTS	New Testament Studies

PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
P.G.	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca, ed. J.P. Migne
P.L.	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. J.P. Migne
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
QUAD	Quadmoniot
RAC	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana
RB	Revue Biblique
RBK	Reallexikon zur Byzantinische Kunst, ed. K. Wessel and M. Restle
REJ	Revue des Etudes Juives
RfAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RHJC	Recherches d'Histoire Judéo-Chrétienne
RHR	Revue d'Histoire des Religions
RM	Römische Mitteilungen (Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Rome)
RMAL	Revue du Moyen-Age Latin
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift
RQH	Revue des Questions Historiques

Foreword

CHRISTIAN iconography is justifiably considered a theological matter, though on condition of course that this theology is an authentic expression of faith. These representations of the Christian mystery inevitably reflect in their differences, groupings and oppositions a diversity of theological approaches in accordance with a wide variety of styles, modes and mentalities. Christian art presents a multiplicity of faces according to different traditions, cultural milieus and sociological contexts. Thus, for the same reason that it transcends *any* apprehension by human reason, the mystery of the Incarnation has been represented by painters, sculptors and illuminators in extremely diverse fashions, not only according to the temperament of the artist, but also the religious mentality of the community in which these representations were the artistic expression.

This can be seen throughout the entire history of Christian art; particularly with respect to the visage of Christ or of his mother. There is no doubt that the representation of Christ in art, and therefore in the Christian imagination, is of a variety which can be found by following the preconceptions held by the artist, whether admirable or disconcerting. The deepest cause of this diversity lies in the very structure of the mystery of the Incarnation. The indecisions of art or of the imagination can only be manifested on the level of the visible, in the difficult balance of ideological representation: how to capture in words or human language or with images taken from our sensory world, the reality of a Being whom faith presents in a state which is at the same time both man and God? Christian devotion oscillates between two poles, following mentalities or psychologies: now more humanistic and naturalistic, justified under a pretext of realism and truth to the point of abandoning the shadow of the

transcendence of the Divinity. Each artist, each milieu and each epoch has considered the Christ according to its own instincts and grace, according to its own language, or simply according to its needs. Peoples themselves confess their manner of contemplating Christ and describe it in the style in which they represent it: Flemish opulence and security, Spanish dolor and violence, the discretion and reserve of the French primitives, and Italian exultation and glitter.

The image of the Jew and the figure of Israel are so intimately bound in the Christian reflection in the history of Salvation, that they appear in depictions of the Revelation in such a way that a similiar complexity and oscillation is found in the ways of depicting them. The glory of an elected people, or the misery of a people rebuked; light or shadow, continuity or rupture, figure or reality: throughout the long history of Christian art, the representation of the Jew has varied with the emphasis on one or another of these poles, each one of these pairs interpreted most often according to a quasi-Manichean opposition.

From this perspective, the concern of Elisabeth Revel-Neher's book becomes apparent. Her purpose is to show, on the basis of a careful iconographic study, what the image of the Jew in Byzantine religious art has been. The result of the analysis is more than suggestive, so that she invites comparison with the representation of the Jew in the medieval art of Western Europe. The author has written the results of her research here, using the framework which the late Professor Bernhard Blumenkranz employed in his book *The Medieval Jew as a Mirror of Christian Art* (Paris, 1966).

The present work brings, therefore, an original and important contribution to the history of relations between Jews and Christians, between the Synagogue and the Church, as much a register of theological vision as one of sociological and cultural relations between the two communities. In this respect, this book is situated at the confluence of several disciplines: iconography, of course, but also the history of religious doctrines and the history of social and political reality. It is taken for granted that, in this work, it is the first of these disciplines that is the most important. Nevertheless, in the first chapter the author provides an historical introduction which helps to place the works of

Byzantine art in the milieu, or rather, in the different milieus, of which they are the expression.

Elisabeth Revel-Neher does not pretend to exhaust the subject and she is aware that her research is written in a vast field where many areas remain to be explored and where many questions remain open. But the material that she brings for historical and theological reflection will aid in formulating these questions in a more precise manner; in particular, the connection between the religious mentality of the Byzantine Christian and the artistic expression of his faith.

The essential thesis developed here consists of showing that in Byzantine art the representation of the Jew is more objective, more just and more respectful than that which has been current in Western Europe. Byzantine iconography does not fall into deformed imagery or malicious caricature, by which the ostracism and hatred from a society with a purely negative view of the Jew are so often expressed.

The iconographic analysis undertaken by Elisabeth Revel-Neher is, in fact, rather convincing. It forms the substance of Chapter 2, the most important of this book. The criteria of observation and discernment are well chosen and they are applied to varied and suggestive examples, whether representative characters or the class in which they figure. The author studies and compares the representations of Moses, Melchizedek and the Maccabees, for example, as positive figures. Conversely, she brings as evidence the representations of Cain, Caiphas, Judas and also the curious character Jephanius as symbols with negative significance. She underlines, however, the absence of all malice, *a priori*, or of grimacing characters.

Another part of this book is particularly interesting, in which the author undertakes a very detailed analysis of the elements of dress by which the Jews are represented. It is by no means the case, as it is so often in Western Europe, of infamous and discriminatory signs, the yellow hat or the *rouelle*, which tend to mark the exclusion of the Jews outside Christian society or the hatred with which they are held. On the contrary, the *tallit*, the hair style, and especially the *tefillin* appear in Byzantine iconography as the unique signs of identity, the same ones which are

indicated in Jewish law. Far from being infamous, they underline positively the bond of the Jewish people with the Bible.

From the strictly historical point of view, one would perhaps be surprised that Elisabeth Revel-Neher has included in a study on Byzantine art certain paleo-Christian works—those of the Catacombs in particular. Doubtless, she intends by this to underline a continuity. In extending in this way her field of research, she confirms the whole of her thesis: there is a primitive period of Christian iconography, during which the figure of the Jew is completely unaffected by pejorative elements.

This last remark helps to pin down a question to which Elisabeth Revel-Neher's book alludes. She insists, with good reason, on the difference between the sociological and political climate of the East and Western Europe. Nevertheless, as she herself recalls in her first chapter, the religious and theological history of the Churches and the doctrines of Eastern Christianity involve negative elements regarding Jews and Judaism, beginning with the works of Justin and of Chrysostom, and not forgetting the accusations of deicide, the forced conversions and all the forms of discrimination that the Jews have suffered. In this respect, it must be admitted that the theological and sociological climate in the Byzantine East and medieval West barely differed. From where, then, does the difference come that the author brings as evidence on the level of iconography? We will see that the elements that she brings to her inquiry help to formulate the question and to outline a response. It seems that this can be elaborated according to two convergent directions.

First of all, it is clear that the Eastern mentality was less dependent on a sociological and political context, and was at the same time more attentive to the proper theological dimension of the Jewish identity. On the other hand, Byzantine iconography was more concerned with the representation of the eternal mystery. The *Theologia* conditions history and time, and in Byzantine iconography the image of the Jew is more biblical than sociological. In order to confirm at a theological and artistic level the thesis of Elisabeth Revel-Neher, it would be interesting to study this analogy of Christian art as liturgy, in as much as iconography is the most direct expression of it. Certainly, like the entire Church from its very beginning, Eastern Christianity has

the conscience to realize the *verus Israel*, and to see itself substituting for Israel, from whom she has received her heritage. Nevertheless, this typological reading of the past does not suppress in the least the consistency of the *realia* in Jewish existence as it appears in the Bible. The consistency of Jewish reality is the basis of Christian accomplishment. It was therefore important to represent it in all its positiveness. This, without a doubt, is the key which allows an understanding of the serenity and also the exemplariness for Christian iconography of the Jew in Byzantine art.

In reading Elisabeth Revel-Neher's book, the Christian theologian feels invited to reflect on his own approach. If faith is the gift which allows the believer to see the things that God sees, in the light in which He sees them, Byzantine iconography proposes a model within this theological outlook. The authentic theology of the mystery of Israel does not consist of looking at the Jews and Judaism in a manner in which the men of this world have seen them, but in the light in which God sees them; one of benevolence and mercy which illuminates the entire history of salvation.

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Preface

This study is based on a lecture on the representation of the Jew in art, first given in 1983, then in 1988. In this lecture I outlined the historical parallels with the iconographical themes in mediaeval imagery. The bibliographical emphasis, however, was on the West, and allusions to the image of the Jew in Byzantium were rare. The pioneering work in this field by Blumenkranz presented the first well ordered and consistent image of the Jew in Christian art. Blumenkranz's book *Le Juif au miroir de l'art chrétien* paved the way for subsequent research; in particular it contained an invitation to expand the general theme of the Jew in Christian art to include the study of its two branches: that of Western Christianity, to which his book was devoted, and that of Eastern Christianity which, iconographically, still remained to be explored. Was the image of the Jew in Byzantine art different from the one to be found in the West? An accumulation of figurative examples soon amounted to a quite remarkable formal catalogue which brought to light a totally different image of the Jew.

Thus, what I have attempted here is a groundbreaking operation, of which I am offering the first results. Initially, there is a presentation of the historical background: imperial decisions regarding Jews, the social circumstances and, above all, the writings of the Church Fathers which constituted its theological and polemical background. A comparison of these objective elements with the image of the Jew in the art of the period, an image which aimed at being authentic—perhaps a reflection of daily reality or, more probably, of the biblical narrative—reveals a striking and significant dichotomy between images and texts. It is the authenticity of the image of the Jew—neither accusatory, nor moralizing, nor bearing a conclusive message, nor inciting to physical elimination, nor even identificatory in a negative

manner—which is the hallmark of the Byzantine attitude towards the Jew. It forms a striking contrast, as a whole and in its details, with the image of the Jew in Western iconography: that "mirror", to use Blumenkranz's expression, which in fact is a distorting mirror: grotesque, caricatural and frightening. The Byzantine mirror, on the other hand, in which the Jew of Jesus's environment is reflected as well as the more familiar Jew of Byzantine daily life, alone deserves the definition of "a polished surface which reflects the image of objects." For the mirror of Byzantine art does not distort; it reflects, and the image it sends back is indeed that of its object.

The aim of this short study is to examine this propensity for authenticity and to gauge its limits. If it enables the corners of the veil through which one sees the silhouette of the mediaeval Jew in his relations with the Christian world to be lifted a little further, it will have achieved its purpose.

Introduction

CAN or should the image of the Jew in art be studied as a separate entity? Is the Jew represented in a manner so distinct from other men that one has to put him in a special category?[1] Before we take up the study of the images which will provide the definitive answer, a preliminary answer to this question lies in the history of the Jewish people.[2] The people of theological vocation, the chosen people, the people who gave the world the belief in one God, are also the people of difference, of internal, intentional, deliberate differences, of different spiritual and human values, of a code of living which put them out of step with the customs of other nations. These spiritual and moral differences placed them outside the paths trodden by the ancient world, outside systems, often against the stream, often at the opposite pole from the ways of thinking of the societies which surrounded them. The pagan world was full of questions, prejudices and had already invented myths, with regard to the Jewish people.[3] Literary and historical

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[1]The existing bibliography, however limited, can give to that question the beginning of an answer: B. Blumenkranz, *Le Juif au miroir de l'art chétien*, Paris, 1966; R. Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*, Berkeley, 1970; *The Mark of Cain*, Berkeley, 1981; R. Seiferth, *Synagoge und Kirche im Mittelalter*, Munich, 1964 (Eng. ed.): *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1970.

[2]S. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, New York, 1957; A. Heschel, *God in Search of Man*, Philadelphia, 1956 and New York, 1978; A. Neher, *Moses and the Vocation of the Jewish People*, New York, 1959; C. Roth, *History of the Jews*, New York, 1961.

[3]See note 13, the texts of the *Contra Appio* of Josephus.

sources provide evidence of this,[4] but there is no trace of it in the iconography.

It was the emergence of Christianity from the very midst of the Jewish people which gave rise to a new type of relationship[5]: one of difference, certainly; no longer that of strangeness, but that, far more profound, of a break, a rejection—a deep antagonism of a theological kind which the ancient world had not known, with developments and clashes of which history was the witness, society was the crucible and the Church was the ferment. It was a permanent conflict which stained the Middle Ages with persecutions and massacres, and swelled the unfortunate compendium of myths and legends which the modern period was to exploit so well.[6] In iconography, the innovation of this period was the importance given to the image as a vehicle for abstract thought, for theological concepts. Familiar elsewhere, in connection with the elaboration of the image-symbols of paleo-Christian iconography,[7] this utilization of the image was quickly seized upon as a means of propaganda: negative themes which provided a role and

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[4]For the antisemitic writings of Greek and Roman origin, see: J.G. Gager, *The origin of Anti-Semitism*, New York and Oxford, 1983; J. Juster *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1914 (2 vols.); R. Neher-Bernheim, *Le Judaïsme dans le monde romain*, Paris, 1959; Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, Paris, 1895 (2nd ed. Hildesheim, 1963); M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, Jerusalem, 1974–84 (3 vols.); J. Yoyotte, *L'Egypte ancienne et les origines de l'anti-judaïsme*, in *Bulletin de la Société E. Renan*, 1962, p. 133ff.

[5]S. Almog (ed.), *Antisemitism Through the Ages*, Oxford, 1988; B. Blumenkranz, "*Les Auteurs chrétiens latins du moyen-âge sur les Juifs et le Judaïsme*" *R.E.J.*, 1948, p. 3–67, and *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde ocidental*, 430–1096 Paris 1960; J. Isacc, *Teaching of Contempt: Christian Roots of Anti-semitism*, New York, 1964; F. Lovsky, *Antisémitisme et Mystère d'Israël*, Paris, 1955; J. Maritain, *A Christian Looks at the Jewish Question*, New York, 1973; J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study in the Origins of Antisemitism*, London, 1934 (Second edition—New York, 1969); M. Simon, *Verus Israel, Etudes sur les relations entre Chrétiens et Juifs dans l'Empire romain* (135–425), Paris, 1964, English edition *Verus Israel*, Oxford, 1985; A.L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird's Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1935.

[6]For the impact of these themes on Nazi iconography, immediately recognized by my students after a detailed study of antisemitic myths in medieval art, see for example: J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jews and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism*, London, 1943.

[7]A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, Princeton, 1980.

purpose to the Jewish people quite naturally found support in the emphasis which the image gave to the figure of the Jew as the representative of his people, their beliefs and, above all, their erring ways. Through its image of the Jew, Christianity was able to reach the *vulgus pecus*, the illiterate people, as well as the scholars, and to demonstrate, with an impact which modern psychology today attributes to the mass media, the necessity of refuting, combating and annihilating the Jew, who was regarded as the first and original enemy of the Christian.[8]

It is not our concern to describe at length the historical, theological and social background of this phenomenon. That is not our purpose, nor are we able to do so. Excellent works exist on this topic.[9]

It is on the basis of these studies and starting from their premises that we shall give here a brief outline of the principal characteristics of the life of the mediaeval Jews among the Byzantine Christians, who had become the political and religious masters of a world in which they came up against one another.

The history of the Jews in Byzantium, in its beginnings, was coincidental with the birth of Christian hegemony, but the fate of the Jews living in the Eastern empire—in the land of Israel and the countries of exile—was different from that of their brethren in Western Europe. We shall note the role played by the Byzantine emperors and briefly analyze their decisions, and this will help us to paint, in broad strokes, a picture of the history of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire. The determining influence of the Church and its anti-Jewish polemic constitute the second element in this general picture. Here we shall try to recapitulate the attitude of the Byzantine Church to the Jews and Judaism, attempting to find clues for our iconographical analysis. In this connection—and here, too, with the intention of revealing the differences

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[8]Already present in John Chrysostom's writings and—as a minor theme in Augustine's work—this theme would be developed in medieval Christian literature from the ninth to the twelth centuries. See pp. 29–31, 37–40 and 43–46 below.

[9]M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews under Roman and Byzantine Rule* (in Hebrew) 1946, reed., Jerusalem, 1984; A. Linder, *The Jews under Roman Imperial Legislation*, Jerusalem, 1988; A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*, London, 1971; J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* 641–1204, New York, 1939; and the two fundamental studies of J. Juster and M. Simon, already cited.

within the similarity—we shall briefly describe the Western parallels to the writings and decisions of the Byzantine Church, in order to gain a clearer conception of the respective attitudes of the Western Church and that in Constantinople.

On this basis we will be able to undertake the iconographical analysis of the principal prototypes of the representation of the Jew in Byzantium. We shall not divide it chronologically, but according to themes, in an attempt to categorize these prototypes as they appear. We shall also indicate, with specific examples, the use of visual themes in the West, and we shall finally attempt to draw attention to Western themes which do not appear in the East, and vice versa.

We shall encounter one of the most fascinating current problems of Byzantine iconographical research: the progressive uncovering of the sources of Byzantine iconography. Since Weitzmann's studies,[10] the supposition that the first Byzantine artists used Jewish models has become increasingly probable. The cataloguing of the images of the Jew in Byzantium will perhaps contribute—or so we hope—to revealing the antiquity of these motifs and their relationship, through successive copies, so characteristic of the iconography of illustrated manuscripts,[11] to a model which was perhaps Jewish, at any rate deeply rooted in Jewish existence of the first centuries of the Christian era.

This study, of course, is not and cannot be exhaustive. The Byzantine images are too rich and too sophisticated to yield up all their secrets so easily. The examples chosen aim merely to be representive and characteristic. They will enable us to compile a first portfolio—imprecise and uncertain, but with the flavor of novelty—of the image of the Jew in the Byzantine world.

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[10]K. Weitzmann, "The Illustration of the Septuagint," p. 45ff. and "The Question of the Influence of Jewish Pictorial Sources on Old Testament Illustration," p. 408ff. in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H.L. Kessler, Chicago, 1971. This study was already in press when K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler's exhaustive book appeared, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*, Washington, 1990. It was regrettably too late to introduce it in the footnotes. But the reader must now add this "summa" to the previous bibliography.

[11]K. Weitzmann, *Illustration in roll & Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of the Text Illustration*, Princeton, 1947 (2nd ed. 1970).

1

Aspects of Jewish Life in Byzantine Society

The Attitude of the Empire

From the Fourth to the Sixth Centuries

WHEN Christianity was legalized, and later on, proclaimed as the state religion by Theodosius' edict in 380 C.E., the Christian empire quite naturally inherited the Roman Empire's attitude to the Jewish nation and its relationship to the Jews, the inhabitants of Palestine. As early as 63 B.C.E., when Pompey entered Jerusalem and Judea submitted to Rome, relations between Rome and the Jews of Palestine had been so bad that they could hardly have been worse. In an attempt to shake off the Roman yoke,[1] there were two revolts. The first took place as a delayed reaction to Caligula's attempt to erect his own statue in the Temple; with this all hopes for tolerance and coexistence with the conquerors disappeared. The vast majority of the people sided with the Zealots, and a veritable Jewish army fought the Roman legions. The destruction of the Jewish state, the fall of the Temple and the overthrow of Massada did not succeed in snuffing out the flame of national independence, and Hadrian's decision to rebuild Jerusalem as a Roman city provoked the Jews into launching another rebellion. The extraordinary charisma of Simeon Bar Kochba, the leader of the Second Revolt, and the effect of his message, with its symbolic impact, on iconography, have been written about elsewhere. The

[1] In 66–74 and 132–35 C.E.

birth of Jewish art and its first manifestations, linked to Eretz Israel and the Temple, can be traced to this dramatic period in the history of the Jewish people.[2]

Immediately after the fall of Betar, the emperor Hadrian forbade the Jews to reside in Palestine or to visit the country. Aelia Capitolina was founded in 135 on the ruins of Jerusalem. Hadrian also forbade the performance of essential commandments: the circumcision, the study of the *Torah* and even the appointment of rabbis. Over and above his desire to destroy the Jewish entity politically, his prohibitions aimed at attacking the very foundations of Judaism, and thus at sapping the powers of resistance of the Jewish people, bound to its tradition. They were motivated both by the fear of a new armed revolt[3] and by pseudo-historical myths such as those collated by Apion, the Greek historian whom Josephus both transmitted and opposed.[4]

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[2]For the importance of iconography at the time of the Second Revolt, see my book: *Le Signe de la rencontre: L'Arche d'Alliance dans l'art juif et chrétien du second au dixième siècles*, Paris, 1984, pp. 75–80, and my article "L'Alliance et la Promesse: Le symbolisme d'Eretz Israël dans l'iconographie juive du moyen-âge," *JA* **12–13** (1986–87), pp. 135–46.

[3]After the victory, Hadrian did not use the habitual formula reporting the well-being of the army, because of the heavy losses sustained by the Romans.

[4]"Within this sanctuary Apion has the effrontary to assert that the Jews kept an ass's head, worshipping that animal and deeming it worthy of the deepest reverence; the fact was disclosed, he maintains, on the occasion of the plundering of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes when, the head, made in gold and worth a high price, was discovered."—Josephus, *Against Apion* **II**.80 in H. St Thackeray (trans.), *Josephus, Against Apion*, vol. 1, London, 1926. "They would kidnap a Greek foreigner, fatten him up for a year, and then convey him to a wood, where they slew him, sacrificed his body with their customary ritual, partook of his flesh, and, while immolating the Greek, swore an oath of hostility to the Greeks. The remains of their victim were then thrown into a pit. The man (Apion continues) stated that he had now but a few days to live, and implored the king, out of respect for the gods of Greece, to defeat this Jewish plot upon his life-blood and to deliver him from his miserable predicament."—Josephus, *Against Apion* **II**.94–96. "Then he attributes to us an imaginary oath and would have it appear that we swear by the God who made heaven and earth and sea to show no good will to a single alien, above all to Greeks."—Josephus, *Against Apion* **II**.121. "A clear proof, according to him, that our laws are injust and our religious ceremonies erroneous is that we are not masters of an empire, but rather the slaves, first of one nation, then of another, and that calamity has more than once befallen our city."—Josephus, *Against Apion* **II**.125.

We know that the Jews circumvented the imperial decrees:[5] from the second half of the second century, there is evidence of pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[6] It appears, however, that no Jewish community was allowed to reside in Jerusalem before the Arab conquest.[7]

The victory of Constantine on the Milvian bridge in 313 marked the beginning of the emperor's sympathy for the Christian religion. The first Christian emperor accorded Christianity the status of a *religio licita*, thus placing this formerly proscribed religion on an equal footing with Judaism.

After 324 and his victory at Chrysopolis, Constantine declared in his "Edict to the Provincials"[8] his desire to return to a strict application of Hadrian's decrees. The Jews were again forbidden to stay in Jerusalem, or even to pass through it.[9] There was the difference, however, that for the first time the Jews were permitted to stay in Jerusalem on the 9th of Av, the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple, and to lament over its ruins. This practice came to be understood by the Christians as possessing a clear symbolic significance: according to the Church Fathers, the overthrow of Judaism, proved by the fall of the Temple, confirmed the victory of Christianity.[10] The spectacle was so striking that it was mentioned by the Bordeaux pilgrim in his account of his visit to Jerusalem in 333: "Not far from the statue of Hadrian, there is

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[5]J.R. Harris, "Hadrian's Decree of Expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem," *Harvard Theological Review* **19** (1926) pp. 199–206. This decree constitutes an important element in anti-Jewish polemics (see further on), proving the culpability of the Jews. The interdiction extended to the whole region neighboring the town, including Bethlehem and Herodion. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* **IV**.6.3; Tertullianus, *Adversus Judaeos*, **XIII**, Pl. 2, pp. 633–38.

[6]S. Safrai, "The Holy Assembly of Jerusalem" (in Hebrew), *Zion* **XXII** (1957), pp. 1183–94.

[7]A. Linder, "Ecclesia and Synagoga in the Medieval Myth of Constantine the Great," in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* **54** (1976), p. 1029ff, esp. pp. 1035–44. For references, see p. 1028, n. 28.

[8]Text cited by Eusebius (*VC* II.48–60). See: A.H.M. Jones, "Notes on the Genuineness of the Constantinian Documents in Eusebius' Life of Constantine," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* **V** (1954), pp. 196–200.

[9]Eusebius, *Commentary* Ps. LVIII (*PG* XXIII, 541) and Augustinus, *Sermo* **V**, C **5** (*CCSL* pp. 55–56).

[10]For John Chrysostom's anti-Jewish sermons in Antioch between 386 and 387 see M. Simon, "La polémique anti-juive de St Jean Chrysostome et le mouvement judaïsant d'Antioche," in *Etudes Juives* **VI** (1962), p. 140ff.

a pierced stone. Each year, the Jews visit it, anoint it, cry loudly, tearing their clothes, and then go home."[11]

The conversion of the emperor resulted in a protection of baptized Jews. In general, it became clear that the changes were more a revival of Hadrian's laws than anything radically new.

The situation, however, was quite different where Constantine's personal attitude to the Jews was concerned. In this report, his writings are revealing. They are full of pejorative expressions: "Lawless Jews, impure through their crimes;" "Let us having nothing in common with the perjured Jews;" "The impure, who were justly stricken with blindness."[12]

At the same time, the Constantinian constructions in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and the Galilee definitely barred the way to the Return hoped for by the Jews. A short text in the *Midrash Bereshit Rabba* has peculiarly modern connotations: "Rabbi Judah ben Pazzi affirms that the Mahpela cave, the Temple and Joseph's tomb, duly purchased and paid for in ancient times, are the three sites which the Gentiles cannot take back from Israel, saying 'They were acquired through theft'."[13]

Constantine also launched continuous and successive campaigns for the conversion of Jews, especially in the Galilee. In general, however, it seems that the Jewish people considered a long-term victory of Christianity improbable and was thus content to wait and to offer passive resistance.

Constantius II, the son of Constantine, who ruled from 337 to 361, added considerably to the anti-Jewish legislation of the fledgling Christian empire. In 339, he proclaimed three laws which were preserved in the Code of Theodosius: marriages between Jews and Christians were forbidden (a statute which raised few protests, since it was in agreement with Jewish legislation prohibiting mixed marriages); any Jew attacking a

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[11]J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Jerusalem, 1977, and Jerome, *In Sophoniam* I.15–16, *CCSL* LXXVI A, p. 673. "Congregatur turba miserarum, et patibulo Domini caruscante, ac radiante *αναστασει* ejus, de Oliveti Monte quoque crucis fulgette vexillo, plongere ruinas templi sui populum miserum." and "Spectat templum quondam judaicum in favillas et cineres dissolentum."

[12]*Vita Constantini* **III**.18 (*CCSL*, p. 85).

[13]Midrash, *Berechit Rabba* **79**.7.

convert to Christianity in any way whatsoever, by stoning or any other means, was to be punished by death; and, finally, Jews were no longer permitted to have Christian or Gentile slaves. We know that Jewish law clearly limited the condition of slavery to a period of seven years, after which the slave, if he so desired, was freed—a strange innovation in the ancient world, so entirely based on slave labor; and yet a Jew, if he had a Christian slave, now had his possessions confiscated, and if he converted a pagan or a Christian slave to Judaism, he was punished by death. Real economic difficulties, making the pursuit of any craft or trade almost impossible for the Jews, who were as dependent on slaves as their neighbors, were probably the cause of the attempted revolt against Gallus, the nephew of the emperor whom the latter made responsible for the government of the eastern part of the empire.[14]

Constantius's laws went further than those of his father and restricted Jewish life to an even greater extent. Above all, his personal anti-Judaism was greater than that already evident in Constantine's writings, but it was not expressed in his legal ordinances, which employed purely judicial language. Constantius's terminology was quite different, even in his ordinances: the Jews were described as "*feralis*" (savage), and an "abominable (*nefaria*) people"; Judaism was a "disgrace and an infamy" (*flagitium, turpitudo*), and he spoke of Jews assembled in "gatherings of blasphemers" (*sacrilegi coetus*).[15]

The appearance of the ruler known as Julian the Apostate and his two-year reign (from 361 to 363) not only signified a return to a mystical paganism, but also a change of attitude with regard to the Jews. He praised the fidelity of Judaism to its past and traditions, and its spiritual tolerance, in contrast with the intolerant zeal of the fourth-century Christians. He also recognized the right of the Jews to be a nation like the others and to serve and worship their God.

On receiving a delegation of Jews from Antioch, Julian announced his decision to permit the reconstruction of the Temple.

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[14]See A. Linder, "Le pouvoir romain et les juifs à l'époque de Constantin," *Tarbiz* 44 (1975) (in Hebrew), especially pp. 136–41.

[15]Cited by M. Avi-Yonah, p. 176. op. cit., *C. Th.* **XVI**.8.1 et 8.7.

There seems to have been a dual significance, both political and religious, to this decision,[16] but whatever the imperial motives may have been, the enthusiasm of the Jewish population was tremendous. Work was probably begun at the beginning of March 363 and abandoned on the 27th of May of the same year. Julian's death totally extinguished a hope which had begun to be realized, and whose interruption has so far been only partly explained.[17]

A period of repression of the Jewish population followed the destructive earthquake of 363, but before long, the internal conflict in the Church provoked by the Arian crisis, provided the Jews with a period of relative calm. It was only when the orthodox emperor Theodosius I came to the throne that the situation again worsened. From 383 to 392, on the insistent demand of the Church, he promulgated a number of laws limiting the rights of the Jews, but at the same time he almost simultaneously issued edicts for the protection of the Jews. Until the accession to the throne of Theodosius II in 408, however, no major new restriction was placed on the Jews, despite the constant attacks of the Church. From 408 to 438, when Theodosius II's *Novellae* were published, the Church and the imperial government joined forces in oppressing the Jews and curtailing their individual and social rights as well as their religious rights. Perhaps it is possible to agree with Juster that "the Christian emperors created the crime of Judaism."[18] The attacks against Judaism took two forms: the first was to curtail the Jews' civil rights, the authority of their patriarch and their participation in public life; the second was

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[16]J.H. Levy, "Julian and the Restoration of the Temple" (in Hebrew), *Studies in Jewish Hellenism*, Jerusalem, 1960, pp. 221–54.

[17]John Chrysostom saw a theomachic intention in the attempt to rebuild the Temple. Hadrian and Constantine put an end to these attempts by crushing them; Julian's decree needed a divine intervention to end it. A. Linder, *Ecclesia and Synagoga*, op. cit. p. 1034, n. 55–56.

[18]Juster, op. cit., I, p. 262. See also G. Stroumsa, "Religious Contacts in Byzantine Palestine," *Numen*, XXXVI (1989), pp. 16–42. Stroumsa defines the anti-Jewish attitude on pp. 22–23: "refusal to acknowledge Christ Savior became, soon after Constantine's conversion, the main criterion for defining the outsider.... When everybody could and should belong, those who refused to do so were held fully responsible. According to this conception there was no, or almost no, neutral outsider. It is this attitude which explains the tendency to demonize the outsider, in particular the heretic and the Jew, which has been so widespread in Christian history."

aimed more directly against their religious and spiritual life.[19] It was in this second area that the change was most widespread: from 388 onwards, there was a series of attacks of the populace against synagogues—attacks directed and controlled by the Church, which encouraged them with inflammatory sermons. Until 408, the imperial government resisted this type of discrimination and repeatedly asked the Christians to repair the damage and to rebuild the destroyed synagogues,[20] but when Arcadius died, its policy changed. The first law promulgated by Theodosius II, in May 408, declared Purim a festival offensive to the Christian faith, and the destruction of synagogues continued. In 414, the patriarch Cyril organized the destruction and expulsion of the Jewish community of Alexandria, which meant the disappearance of the world's most famous synagogue.[21] In 420, a new edict repeated the prohibition against molesting Jews or burning synagogues or private homes, but at the same time ordered the Jews themselves to desist from any "insult" or "offence" to the Christian faith (if this happened, the Jew in question had to be brought before a civil court). This, in fact, was a kind of legitimation of the idea of the "offence" of Judaism and of Jewish existence.

By about 423, it seems that the destruction of a synagogue meant that the site was appropriated for the benefit of the Christians, who consecrated it and used it for the building of a church, in order to prevent any reconstruction of a synagogue. Officially, the Jews had the right to receive another place for a synagogue, but then the emperor proceeded to prohibit the building of new synagogues or even changes in the existing ones. In this way, despite repeated Jewish requests for this state of

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[19]396: Limitation of the Jews' participation in the economic life of the state. 397: The Jews were no longer allowed to participate in the curiae. 398: They were now under the jurisdiction of Roman courts and legislation, apart from civil matters. 415: All litigation between Jews and Christians was to be submitted to civil courts. This resulted in a diminution of Jewish autonomy.

[20]For example the edict of 393 reformulating the prohibition against destroying or damaging a synagogue "because it is well known that the Jewish sect is not forbidden by the law" (*C.Th.* **XVI**. 8,9).

[21]Socrates, H.E. **7**, 13 (*PG* 67,760) and Juster, op. cit., **II** p. 176.

affairs to be rectified, whatever the Jews lost in these destructions was never replaced.

Theodosius's celebrated third Novella summarized all the previous laws: both the major ones and their minor additions and interpretations. It was forbidden to build new synagogues, and it was permitted to repair old ones only if they were about to fall into ruin. Any new synagogue had immediately to be made into a church, and the decoration of a synagogue which did not need restoration was in itself punishable.[22] Mixed marriages, Jewish proselytism and the possession of Christian slaves continued to be forbidden. Jews were "exempt" from military and civil service. The jurisdiction of Jewish courts was strictly limited. The abolition of the patriarchate became final after the death of Rabbi Gamliel VI, and the Jewish state thus lost the last remnants of its autonomy. Conversion to Judaism was punishable by death, but encouragements were lavished on the Christian convert. To become Jewish became a crime punishable by law.

Between the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and Justinian's accession to the throne in 527, there was a period of relative tranquillity owing to Byzantium's religious conflicts. Monophysitism absorbed all the energies of the Church and the empire, and the Jews were somewhat forgotten. No new law was promulgated, although the third Novella remained fully in force. Anti-Jewish hatred, however, had not disappeared from the empire. When the emperor Zeno was informed that some Jews had been burnt to death in an uprising in Antioch, he responded: "How unfortunate that those who are alive had not been burnt to death also."[23] Similarly, the Monophysites accused the Nestorians of having "Jewish ideas."[24]

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[22]The archeological discoveries of the last seventy years prove that these prohibitions, ignored by the Jewish community, remained a dead letter. See Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, London, 1934, and more recently Y. Levine, *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, Jerusalem, 1981; for up-to-date information, see in Hebrew, Y. Tsafrir, *Eretz-Israel, me'hurban bayit cheni ve-ad ha-kibuch ha-muslemi*, Jerusalem, 1985.

[23]John of Asia, in F. Nau (ed.), *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, ser. 1, t. 2, Paris, 1897, pp. 455–93 and Malalas, *Chronographia*, *PG* **97** p. 578.

[24]The Council of Ephesus wrote to Nestorius in these terms: "The sacred Assembly to Nestorius, the new Jew." *CSCO* (Scryptores Syrii) III, IV, *Chron. Minor*, p. 161.

In his desire to reunite the two halves of the empire and to stamp out heresy, Emperor Justinian initiated a policy of repression of which the Jews, together with the religious minorities, were the destined victims. The Jewish community now had to endure a new series of hostile measures.

His first laws confirmed and upheld the decrees of his predecessors.[25] There were two innovations, however. One was the definition of the term "heretic" as someone who is not orthodox rather than a Christian whose views differed from those of the Church, and this new definition included the Jews. The other completely annulled the legal status of Jews in courts of law: i.e., the evidence of a Jew was unacceptable against that of an orthodox Christian.[26]

Justinian even went so far as to intervene directly in the religious affairs of the Jewish community, something which no previous emperor had done. Very significantly, the Justinian Code, based on the Code of Theodosius, reiterated a large number of old laws but failed to repeat the assertion that Judaism was a *religio licita*. The canons of the Church became the judicial basis of the Jewish community, which thus lost any other legal foundation and saw the way prepared for persecutions protected by the law. The Jews were delivered up to the leaders of the Church hierarchy, the application of the law being left to the bishops and the governors of provinces, with the proviso that the bishops could appeal to the emperor if they felt that the civil authorities were becoming too lax.

However, the emperor also intervened personally in Jewish religious life. For instance, he forbade the celebration of Passover on its proper date if it fell before the Christian festival of Easter.[27]

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[25]Prohibition of Jews from civil and military office; added defenses in the question of Christian slaves; protection of the inheritance of a Christian son in a Jewish family, with one special proviso: in a case in which one parent wants the conversion of his child to Christianity and the other is opposed to it, the will of the former prevails.

[26]A later addition to this law declares the evidence of a Jew unacceptable, but only in the case when it is hostile to a Christian. However, it is acceptable in matters of taxation, the importance of which apparently prevailed over the Jewish legal incapacity.

[27]For dating problems with regard to Easter and Christian feasts in general, see further on pp. 27–31.

In Novella 146, in 553, he intervened in the internal debates of the Constantinopolitan Jews concerning the use of a Greek translation of the Bible to be read in synagogues. In his edict, he condemned the Jewish interpretation of the sacred text as too literal and praised the symbolic and allegorical interpretation of the Church Fathers as the only true one. In order to encourage its propagation, he ordered the reading of the Greek Septuagint translation.[28] In order to forestall any reaction, he forbade the heads of communities to excommunicate those who were in favor of this change, but demanded the rejection of those who denied the resurrection of the dead, the Last Judgment and the existence of angels. Finally, he forbade the use of what he called *deuterosis*, a second law, by which he meant *Mishnah* and *Talmud*, the oral Law of the Jews.

Justinian repeated the prohibition against building new synagogues (Novella 131, in 545), and totally forbidding their construction in Africa (Novella 37, in 535). It seems that Justinian dealt with this problem personally: he transformed the synagogue at Borion in Cyrene into a church. Excavations show much evidence of destruction of Palestinian synagogues by fire.[29] The construction of Sancta Sophia can be seen, in this context, as one more demonstration[30] of the triumph of the New Testament over the Old, or as a sign of the new emperor's supersession of Solomon.[31]

At the same time, the era of Justinian, the "golden age" of arts and letters, was also the period of the first forced conversions. The destruction of the synagogue at Borion was followed by the forced adoption of Christianity by the Jewish community of the town.

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[28]Probably ignorant of Jewish decisions, he also allowed the other Greek translations, including Aquila's made under the direction of Rabbi Aquiva, which closely followed the original Hebrew. See M. Harl, G. Dorival, O. Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au Christianisme ancien*, Paris, 1988.

[29]Cesarea, Usfyia, Ein-Gedi, for example.

[30]G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: Etude sur le recueil des Patria*, Paris, 1984, pp. 300–09.

[31]For the typology of the emperor and King Solomon, going back to the Constantinian liturgy see: H. Fichtenau, "Byzanz und die Pfalz zu Aachen," *MIOG* **LIX** (1951) pp. 28–33, and J. Perles, "Thron und Circus des Konigs Salomo," *MGWJ* **XXI** (1872), pp. 122–39.

The hymns of Romanos Melodos mention the baptism of many Jews during this period.[32]

When Jerusalem was taken by the Persians in 614, the Jews were quite naturally among those who hoped for the end of Christian domination[33]—a domination which had lasted, in the conditions we have described, since 324.

From the Persian Interlude to Iconoclasm

The capture of Jerusalem by the Persians was accompanied by many excesses on the part of the invaders, who, this time, made the Christians their victims. The three-week siege of the city resulted in the burning of churches, including that of the Holy Sepulchre, and the seizure of the Cross.[34]

In May 514, the Jews were the rulers of Jerusalem and (as at the time of the Bar-Kochba revolt as well as under Julian the Apostate) it seemed that the Temple would be rebuilt. The anti-Jewish prejudice which had characterized Byzantine rule for three centuries provoked a wave of reaction on the part of the Jewish community. Banishments, wanton destruction of property and attempts at forced conversions to Judaism are reported by Christian historical sources, which present these phenomena as the unfortunate consequence of an anti-Christian fanaticism.[35]

Very soon, however, the Persians wearied of their ally, who had now lost his usefulness. In the summer of 617—that is, a little more than three years after the capture of Jerusalem—the Jews were once more expelled from Jerusalem and the city was returned to the Christians, thus putting a final end to any hopes for Jewish reconstruction. Any political ambitions or hopes for autonomy disappeared for centuries.

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[32]Romanos Melodos, *Hymne* **54**, st. 21–22. J. Grosdidier De Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance*, Paris, 1977, pp. 492–95. He himself was a converted Jew. See also E. Revel-Neher, *Le Signe de la rencontre*, op. cit. p. 53.

[33]An armed revolt in Cesarea in 556 united Samaritans and Jews, otherwise deeply divided.

[34]For the legend of the cross, J. Straubinger, "Die Kreuzauffindungs-Legende," in *Forschungen zur Christlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte XI*, 3 (1912), and A. Linder, *Ecclesia and synagoga*, pp. 1035–44.

[35]See Peeters, *Analectia Bollandiana* **31** (1912), p. 301.

The Byzantines reorganized themselves, and in 628 the emperor Heraclius appeared before the walls of Ctesiphon, the capital of Persia. The deposition of Chosroes and the internal struggle to succeed him caused the Persians to abandon their Byzantine provinces.

Heraclius began by pardoning the Jews of Tiberias and Galilee, but when he entered Jerusalem, depositing the Cross at the Holy Sepulchre, he issued an edict commanding all the Jews to leave the city.[36] At the same time, he imposed forced conversion on the entire Jewish community. Massacres and persecutions followed, and the Jews once again had to hide in order to observe the laws and practices of Judaism.[37]

From 634 onwards, the Arab conquest of Palestine, Syria and Egypt settled for a long time to come the question of the domination of Jerusalem. However, there were many Jewish communities in other places which still remained part of the Byzantine Empire. Some long predated Christian rule, and their existence was attested to very early; such communities could be found in Asia Minor, Greece and Italy (the south of which was part of the empire from the sixth to the eleventh centuries). Other communities were younger: a Jewish community has been known in Constantinople from the fifth century.

Heraclius, with his decrees, initiated several waves of persecution. In the eighth century, in 721–722, Leo III the Isaurian issued an edict which once again forced the Jews to accept baptism. This, however, was abrogated, probably from 726 or 740. In Byzantium, many Jews, forced to accept baptism, continued to observe Judaism in secret, while waiting for the opportunity to recant and return freely to the faith of their fathers. The chronicler Theophanes, reporting the results of Leo III's conversion-policies, said that "the Jews, without much reflection, submitted to baptism and then washed themselves clean of it. They

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[36]Eutychius *Annals*, *PG* **III**, 1089–90.

[37]The Council of Nicea, in 787, allowed the Jews to return to their faith openly. For the opposition of the Byzantine Church to forced conversions and the canons of Nicaea, see further on pp. 34–35.

participated in Holy Communion after eating and thus contaminated the faith." Many other Jews, of course, refused such compromises, even for a limited period, and went into exile, especially to the Khazar kingdom.[38]

However, the existence of a community of "new Christians" more readily attracted to the ranks of the schismatics than to the orthodox church, soon appears to have been understood, even by the emperor, as something undesirable. In 726, the *Ekloge*, the revision of the penal code, laid down the death sentence for heretics (Manichaeans and Montanists), but made no mention at all of any sanctions against the profession of Judaism.

The question of whether Leo III was at that point so influenced by Judaism that it can be regarded as one of the major factors of his decision, taken in 726, to destroy images, is undecided.[39] A certain number of iconoclastic emperors, at any rate, showed some sympathy for Judaism.[40] It should be noticed, moreover, that during the iconoclastic crisis, the anti-Jewish writings were produced by the opponents of iconoclasm, the iconodules, who saw the Jews as the willing fomentors of a crisis which could only weaken the imperial government and the Church, and which was consequently to their advantage.[41]

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[38]The royal family and a great part of the population in what is today southern Russia appear to have converted to Judaism at the beginning of the sixth century. The Khazar kingdom disappeared towards the end of the tenth century. Its history is a fascinating subject, although its chronology and numerous details of its short existence are still unclear. See S. Baron, op. cit., **III**, p. 197–206.

[39]See Andre Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin, le dossier archéologique*, Paris, 1957, and S. Baron, op. cit., **III**, pp. 175–79.

[40]It is the case of Michael II (820–829) accused of Judaization or even of Jewish origin and trying to return to it. According to Theophanes, Michael oppressed the Christians and alleviated the burden on the Jews because "he loved and esteemed them more than all other mortals." *PG* 109, 61 and also J. Starr, "An Eastern Christian Sect: The Athingansi," *HTR* **XXIX**, p. 95.

[41]If the existence of a Jewish art can be traced today to long before iconoclasm (and maybe even before paleochristian art), it is a fact that, from the end of the seventh century to the beginning of the tenth century, there is no trace of Jewish art in the Byzantine Empire. It shows the desire of the Jews not to dissociate themselves from a struggle largely based on Jewish texts, or their fear of doing so.

From the Macedonians to the Fall of the Empire

The founder of the Macedonian dynasty, Basil I, who converted the Slavs, called together Jews from the various parts of the empire with the intention of organizing a great public debate on the merits of Judaism. If the discussion did not turn in their favor, they were to be baptized. In 873–4 he issued a decree ordering the forced baptism of all Jews.[42]

The son of Basil I, Leo VI, in 893 commanded the Jews in his Novella 55 "not to dare to live otherwise than in accordance with the rules established by the pure and salutory Christian faith." He gained the gratitude of the Jewish community, however, with his promulgation of the *Basilika*, the legal code which rendered that Novella obsolete. The *Basilika*, while reiterating previous prohibitions and restrictions, allowed—contrary to the intentions of Basil I—for the existence of a Jewish community in the Byzantine empire.[43] In general, the *Basilika* was first of all a reformulation and reiteration of previous laws of the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian. Its essence was a very restricted tolerance of a Jewish minority in the empire, and its maintenance in an inferior social status. The first example of the legislator's intention was the exclusion of the Jews from any social, civic or honorific position—an exclusion which must have been strictly maintained, as no Jewish officials were mentioned.

The *Basilika* similarly reiterated the prohibition against the erection of new synagogues which, as we have seen, at certain periods at least, appears to have been little observed. The Jewish

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[42]Apparently he first tried persuasion: "To those who would join Christ, he made offers of appointment to office. He also promised to relieve them from the burden of their former taxes and to make noble and honorable men of the obscure ones." (*PG* **CIX**. 357). These events are also related by the Jewish chronicler A'himaz d'Oria: M. Salzman, *The Chronicle of A'himaz*, New York, 1924, pp. 70–74 and G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, pp. 307–08; Baron, op. cit., **III**, p. 179. The date of the Christianization campaign is unclear. See J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 133–41 and A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, pp. 82–105.

[43]A codicille added to the *Ekloge* of 726 at the end of the eighth century reiterated the new restrictions, but did not contain any suggestion that Judaism was illegal. The *Procheros Nomos* and the *Epanagoge* of Basil I, in 870 and 884, repeat these same decisions but do not add anything new. Starr, *The Jews*, pp. 94–144 and Baron, op. cit., **III**, p. 186, n. 15.

inhabitants of areas recently acquired by the empire must have built synagogues, and accounts of attacks on synagogues or the appropriation of synagogues by churches were rare in comparison with the post-Constantinian period. The legislator also seems to have been concerned, at the very same time, with the protection of the Jews and their possessions. The *Basilika*'s clear and unequivocal condemnation of any violence against Jews, synagogues and Jewish property undoubtedly signified a desire to provide the Jewish community with security.[44] The Code of Leo VI also retained provisions for the protection of churches and the Christian faith. Mixed marriages, the conversion of Christians and the circumcision of Christian children continued to incur the death penalty. The statutes reflecting Justinian's singular interference in the problems of Jewish worship—the obligation of reading the Bible in synagogues in the Greek translation of the Septuagint, and the prohibition of the study of the *deuterosis*—were also revoked. There again, there is no proof that this law exercised any influence on Jewish life. On the contrary, we are even told that towards the end of the eleventh century there was a famous case of conversion to Judaism, which seems to have been one example amongst others.[45]

There were also positive changes in the area of civil law. In court cases involving Christians and in the area of marriage (where there was a struggle against polygamy), the Jews remained subject to the laws of the state. Jewish matters, however, were left entirely in the hands of the Jewish community. The *Basilika* decreed that the Jews were not to be compelled to desecrate the *Sabbath* or festivals for the sake of legal matters, thus enlarging upon the decision not to cite Jews as witnesses on the *Sabbath*. Similarly, no non-Jew could be an "overseer of

[44]Jewish sources do not mention any conflict with regard to the building of new synagogues, whether in the new imperial territories in the Balkans or whether they are Karaite synagogues.

[45]Around 1094, Andreas, archbishop of Bari converted to Judaism. He left Norman Italy and sought shelter in Constantinople, where he underwent circumcision. He was followed by others and ended his life in Egypt. Concerning the authenticity of this story, see: M. Mann, "*Obadaya, proselyte normand converti au judaisme*," *REJ* **LXXXIX**, pp. 245–59.

Jews," and the imperial government thus officially recognized the competence of Jewish courts where civil matters were concerned.

Legal codes, and particularly the *Basilika*, were the foundation of the attitude of the Byzantine empire towards the Jews, despite the waves of persecution of which we have seen examples. In their various forms, they also shaped the legal institutions dealing with the Jews in regions like the Slav countries of the Balkans or Eastern Europe.

Despite this stabilizing element, however, in the tenth century there was once again a dark period. From 932 to 944, when he was deposed by his sons, Romanus I Lecapenus, no doubt under the pressure of especially difficult circumstances,[46] tried once more to convert the whole of the Jewish community of the empire to Christianity—an attempt which was accompanied by extortions and murders. Once again, many Jews, in order to escape death or forced conversion, fled towards the Khazar kingdom.[47]

A last attempt of this kind was made about 1253 or 1254 by John III Vatatzes, emperor of Nicaea. The decision was rescinded in 1258 when Michael VIII Palaeologus acceded to the throne, and the history of persecutions and forced baptisms came to an end.

As we have seen, a rapid proliferation of anti-Jewish laws in the first centuries of the Byzantine Empire was followed, if not by a slowing-down, at least by a moderation and a modification of the original decrees. Byzantine Judaism had to face four major attempts of forced conversion between the seventh and the tenth centuries. There was only one very limited attempt in the five hundred years which followed. On the whole, one can agree with the majority of historians that once the initial period of excessive unificatory zeal had passed, the situation of the Jews in the Byzantine empire was noticeably better than that of their brethren in the West.

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[46]In the years 927–928, there was a serious economic crisis and an outbreak of plague. His conflict with the Church and the appointment of his son, Theophylactos, as patriarch of Constantinople, may have been another aspect of his desire to prove his attachment to orthodoxy.

[47]The response of Joseph, the king of the Khazars, was a wave of persecutions against the Christians which may in turn have caused the annulment of Romanos's decrees.

It would seem that, even with regard to the concentration of the Jews in a particular place, imperial policies were different. From the end of the tenth century, the Jews of Constantinople settled in the Ebraika quarter. Representing a voluntary regrouping as well as reflecting an imperial desire to keep them separate from the orthodox population in the same way as the Moslems and Armenians, this geographical arrangement no doubt contributed to an absence of friction. Benjamin of Tudela visited Constantinople in 1165, and he reported: "No Jews live in the city, for they have been placed behind an inlet of the sea."[48] The Jewish Quarter was burnt down by the Crusaders in 1203. Michael VIII resettled the Jewish community in the southern part of the city in 1281, and this quarter was once again burnt down by the Ottomans in 1453.

Finally, a certain number of testimonies and particular cases bear witness to a relatively flexible state of affairs. In the eleventh century, the Nestorian Elisha Bar Shinaya reported that the Byzantines "tolerate a large Jewish population in their territory.... They provide protection and permit them to practice their religion openly and to build their synagogues."[49]

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[48]N.M. Adler, *The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, New York, 1907, p. 14: "No Jews live in the city, for they have been placed behind an inlet of the sea. An arm of the sea of Marmara shuts them in on one side, and they are unable to go out except by way of sea, when they want to do business with the inhabitants. In the Jewish quarter there are about 2,000 Rabbanite Jews and about 500 Karaites, and a fence divides them. Amongst the scholars are several wise men, at their head being R. Abatalion, the chief rabbi, R. Obadiah, R. Aaron Bechor Shoro, R. Joseph Shir-Guru, and R. Eliakim, the warden. And amongst them there are artificers in silk and many rich merchants. No Jew there is allowed to ride on horseback. The one exception is R. Solomon Hamitsri, who is the king's physician, and through whom the Jews enjoy considerable alleviation of their oppression. For their condition is very low, and there is much hatred against them, which is fostered by the tanners, who throw out their dirty water in the streets before the doors of the Jewish houses and defile the Jews' quarter (the Ghetto). So the Greeks hate the Jews, good and bad alike, and subject them to great oppression, and beat them in the streets, and in every way treat them with rigour. Yet the Jews are rich and good, kindly and charitable, and bear their lot with cheerfulness. The district inhabited by Jews is called Pera."

[49]Baron, op. cit., III p. 185; Starr, *The Jews*, 167ff. gives a bibliography. Around the middle of the twelfth century, Manuel Comnene had a Jewish physician, Solomon the Egyptian, although the Church strictly forbade it. See further on p. 32.

The Byzantine Church and the Jews

To attempt to analyze, even briefly, the attitude of the Byzantine Church towards the Jews, is a complex undertaking. And yet, in the same way as the imperial decisions, and perhaps—because of the empire's dependency on the Church—to an even greater degree, this factor constituted one of the basic elements underlying the creation of the image of the Jew. It is only in this way, through a study of the texts of the Fathers and the decisions of the Church Councils, through a general overview of the anti-Jewish polemic of the first centuries, that the truth of the images may gradually be probed.

As in the historical area, the terrain has been largely explored and the main points revealed and analyzed.[50] Our study does not claim any theological purpose, any intention to enter into the area of the history of religions. The material at our disposal will only serve as a basis for an understanding of images of the Jew in Byzantine art. And then, there is always the difficulty of summarizing without omission, of clarifying without exaggeration.

In the pages of the New Testament, one can already perceive the complexity of the collective term "the Jews".[51] The formula "the Jews" as used in the Gospel of John can mean "the Jewish

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[50]We must refer again to the two books already cited: M. Simon, *Verus Israel*, and J. Isaac, *Teaching of Contempt*, as well as J. Danielou, *Theologie du judéo-christianisme*, Tournai, 1958; D. Flusser, *Jesus in selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*, Hamburg, 1968; M. Friedländer, *Synagogue und Kirche in ihren Anfangen*, Berlin, 1908; J.G. Gager, *The Origins of Antisemitism*, New York and Oxford, 1983; M. Haller, "La question juive pendant le premier millénaire chrétien," *RHPR* (1935), p. 293; Hefele, *History of the Councils of the Church*, Edinburgh, 1896 (rep. ed. New York, 1972); P.T. Herford, *Judaism in the New Testament Period*, London, 1928; S. Krauss, "*The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers*," in *JQR* (1893) V, p. 122, and VI, pp. 82, 225; R. Laurentin, *L'Eglise et les Juifs à Vatican II*, Paris, 1967; F. Lovsky, *L'antisémitisme chrétien*, Paris, 1970; J.R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World*, New York, 1969; J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study in the Origins of Antisemitism*, London, 1934; L. Poliakov, *Histoire de l'antisémitisme*, Paris, 1955; H.J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentum*, Tübingen, 1949; M. Simon, *Les Premiers Chrétiens*, 1952; A.L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos, A Bird's Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1935.

[51]See M.J. Dubois, *L'Exil et la demeure: Journal de bord d'un Chrétien en Israël*, Jerusalem, 1984, p. 55.

leaders" or "the adversaries of Jesus."[52] One cannot systematically interpret this collective term as an unequivocally pejorative expression; one has to take into account shades of meaning. One must also be careful in analyzing the complexity of the typological system. From the New Testament to the Church Fathers, it was interpreted as a systematic transposition of the Old Testament, seen as a series of prefigurations into the New Testament, itself being the "sole transmitter of realities."[53] Reservations have recently been expressed within the Church concerning the language of typology and the misuse of it.[54]

These, however, are aspects of the theological attitudes of the ancient Church towards the Jews which must be mentioned, as they constitute the background from which the nascent Christian iconography sprang.

The break between Christianity and Judaism and their estrangement from each other happened very early. From the second century, the Jewish rejection of the Christian message drove the Christians towards the pagan world, towards an area of proselytism in which they were long in rivalry with Judaism. The Jewish presence became a minority in the Christian community, which claimed to be the *Verus Israel*, the true Israel, (Galatians 6:16). However, the constancy and vitality of Judaism at that period constituted a challenge which could not be ignored, and there was felt to be a continual risk of excessive fraternization, of "Judaization". The Jews, as a living theological entity, as well as a people made up of individuals, were thus central to the Christian preoccupations of the first centuries.[55] From this confrontation arose the beginnings of an anti-Jewish polemic which long dominated Jewish–Christian relations.[56]

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[52]M. Remaud, *Catholiques et Juifs: Un nouveau regard: Note de la Commission pour les relations religieuses avec le Judaïsme*, Paris, 1985, p. 13.

[53]M. Remaud, op. cit., p. 26.

[54]M.J. Dubois, *Rencontres avec le Judaisme en Israel*, Jerusalem, 1983, p. 57ff. and 111ff.

[55]For a discussion of Jewish messianic hopes and the danger, in the Christian view, of a Jewish return, towards Eretz-Israel and Jerusalem, see the recent article by G. Stroumsa "'Vetus Israel': Les Juifs dans la littérature hyérosolymitaine d'époque byzantine" in *RHR* (1988), pp. 115–31.

[56]M. J. Dubois, *L'Exil et la demeure*, p. 59.

From the Second to the Fourth Centuries

A text from the middle of the second century reassembles all the essential arguments of what very soon was to become the anti-Jewish polemic, and presents themes of discussions with Jews, based on reasonings in which there is a strong element of accusation. Justin Martyr's *Dialogue With Trypho* looked first of all for a justification for a rejection of Israel in the Bible. It claimed that the abrogation of the Jewish law was already implicitly contained in the history of the patriarchs.[57] This led irrevocably to the choice of a new Israel which itself was already allegorically present in biblical history. Trypho, Justin's Jewish interlocutor, expressed great surprise: "What, Are you Israel, then?",[58] and the question received a definite answer: "The true, spiritual race of Israelites, that of Judah, of Jacob, of Isaac and of Abraham who, uncircumcized, received the testimony of God for his faith, who was blessed and called the father of many peoples—it is we: we whom the crucified Christ has led to God."[59]

The main charge which Justin made against the Jews was the one which has been generally used to justify Christian hostility and which constitutes the true argument of rejection, and that is responsibility for the murder of Jesus: "You have crucified him, the sole irreproachable and righteous man. . . .Your perversity overflows because you hate the righteous man whom you have killed."[60]

Thus, as M. Simon has stressed, "Christian antisemitism" came into being: no longer discussions, polemics, arguments which were sometimes subtle and sometimes ill-founded, but a real anti-Judaism which Simon does not hesitate to describe as a theological antisemitism: that is, an antisemitism of a kind which was basically new. The accusation of deicide cast the responsibility for the murder of Jesus on the entire Jewish people, who were

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[57]"They are commandments which are not good, ordinances which do not give life," *Dial.* 21.6. "For us, Christ has been given, an eternal and final Law, a sure pact after which there is no longer any law or precepts or commandments" *Dial.* 11.2.

[58]*Dial* 123.7.

[59]*Dial* 11.5.

[60]*Dial* 17.1 and 136.2. Concerning the Johannine origins of this accusation, see Simon, *Verus Israel*, p. 246ff.

thus regarded as collectively guilty, and laid the foundations for a theological anti-Judaism.[61]

Justin laid the groundwork for a new system of argument, using violently antagonistic themes. In the western part of the empire, he was emulated by Tertullian in his *Adversus Judaeos* and by Cyprian in his *Testimonies against the Jews*, but neither Origen nor Eusebius of Caesarea utilized this new theme of anti-Jewish polemics. The accusation of deicide was Justin's original discovery. As for Origen, the rejection of Jesus only showed the unworthiness of the Jewish people, incapable for a long period of living up to its former election.[62] This unworthy, sinful and criminal people, however, now carried the full weight of all the penalties and accusations which pagan antagonism was able to devise against it.[63] These ideas provided material for both the Christian authors writing in Latin and for those writing in Greek, thus creating the background for the expressions of fourth-century Christian antisemitism.

To arguments of a religious kind were added moral judgments. The immorality of which the Jews were accused in the fourth century, however, was not unknown in pagan anti-Jewish polemics.[64] The use of this accusation by Christian writers is surprising, as we know that this was one of the charges made against the early Christians. Its reappearance in anti-Jewish polemics is consequently disconcerting. It can perhaps be explained by the great difference which existed in the fourth century between the Jewish outlook, which regarded marriage and the procreation of children as a source of blessing and an

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[61]Of early date, this accusation spread widely in the fourth century. See, for example, Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 3.24; Gregorius of Nyssa, *Or.* 5 *PG* 46, 685; Asterius of Amasa, *Hom. in Ps.* 5.16, *PG* 40, 424 and especially John Chrysostom, further on pp. 23–24.

[62]Origen, *Contra Celsius* 4.32.

[63]M. Simon, *Verus Israel*, p. 246ff. gives a list of the themes re-used by the Fathers: "fomentors of seditions, cruel, cowards, pests of the universe, accused of worshipping the angels." But some of the accusations are ommitted: onolatry, ritual murder, hatred against images or laziness on the Sabbath. A few of these will reappear later.

[64]In Tacitus already, the Jews "abstain from any kind of relation with foreign females, but between them, everything is allowed," *Hist.* 5.5, in Reinach, op. cit. p. 307. The incomprehensibility of abstention from relations with non-Jews created the myth of secret immorality.

expression of the divine will, and the Christian attitude whereby, together with the sacrament of marriage, the ideal of virginity and abstinence, was encouraged as an expression of monastic asceticism.[65] Aphraates devoted one of his homilies to virginity, deriding Jewish denunciations of this virtue: the Jews, he said, "because of their sensuality and carnal desires", mock virginity and make light of it. "You are impure because you do not get married, but we, on the contrary, are holy because we assure our posterity", Aphraates makes the Jews say.[66] Another charge, a new one, appeared at the same time: the accusation of cupidity.[67] This charge was to flourish later on, encouraged by the decrees of the Church which, at least in Western Europe, restricted the Jews to handling money.

These moral judgments were combined with a biblical exegesis which gave texts from the prophets a polemical anti-Jewish interpretation. "Stiff-necked people",[68] "they have eyes but see not, ears but hear not"[69] were among the most common examples of this sort of "evidence". The argument sought to prove that the blind and stubborn Jews clung vainly to a religious belief which was only a caricature of the true faith, now represented by Christianity. In his "Prayer on the Resurrection",[70] Gregory of Nyssa passionately reiterated the various accusations we have mentioned: "Murderers of the Lord, killers of the prophets, rebellious and full of hatred towards God, they violate the Law, resist grace and repudiate the faith of their fathers. Auxiliaries of the devil, race of vipers, informers, befuddled-headed slanderers, Pharisaical *leaven*, *sanhedrin* of demons, damned abominable lapidators, enemies of all that is fine. . . ." He thus placed himself in the forefront of those who created an accusing and caricatural anti-Jewish vocabulary.

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[65]For the monastic ideal and its influences in anti-Jewish polemics, see Parkes, op. cit., p. 225ff.

[66]*Hom.* **18.1**.

[67]Unknown to pagan antisemitism, it was contradicted by Jewish charity and generosity even towards poor Christians, mentioned by Hyeronimus *Ep.* 52. Cf. Simon, *Verus Israel*, p. 252.

[68]Augustine, *Adv. Jud.* **9**; Ambrose, *Ep.* 74.3.

[69]Ambrose, *Ep.* 74.3.

[70]*De Christi Resurr. Orat.* 5 (*PG* **46**, 685).

A survey of John Chrysostom's eight *Homilies against the Jews* has surely to be viewed in the context of polemics addressed to a specific public; John speaks rather against Judaizing Christians. But his discourse clearly points him out as "the master of anti-Jewish imprecation".[71] He fulminated against the Jews "living for their stomachs, their mouths always wide open. They behave no better than pigs and goats in the libidinous grossness and excess of their gluttony. They can only do one thing: gorge themselves and get drunk."[72] "They are like a defilement and a plague throughout the universe."[73] This formula did not originate with John Chrysostom, but he repeated it and expanded it at length: "Overfed stallions, vagabonds, each one neighs after the wife of his neighbour. In their licenciousness, do they not exceed the most libidinous of animals?"[74] His list of Jewish vices includes "pillage, cupidity, treachery towards the poor, stealing and profiteering."[75]

In addition, he attacked the Jewish religion, probably with the purpose of ensuring that the Christians kept away from any rapprochement with Judaism. Could any of those who heard him (the sermons were delivered in Antioch) still believe that "the synagogue is a place of decency"? On the contrary, claimed Chrysostom: "far from being a place where God is worshipped, it is a place of idolatry." "Everything with them today, is a grotesque joke, a mockery and a disgrace." The Jewish fasts, he

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[71]Simon, *Verus Israel*, p. 256. "All the accusations, all the insults can be found in them. It is there that one finds most clearly an incomparable violence and sometimes rudeness, that fusion of elements from popular antisemitism and of specifically theological accusations, that utilisation of biblical texts which are the hallmark of Christian antisemitism." For the context of anti-Judaization, see W. Meeks and R. Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era*, Missoula, Montana, 1978. In addition cf. J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His life, Writings and Controversies*,—London, 1975, p. 222. He points out that in Jerome is concentrated "all the hatred of the ancient Church against the Jews" (cited by G. Stroumsa, op. cit., p. 123).

[72]*Hom.* 1.4, *PG* 48, 848.

[73]On Claudius's letter to the Alexandrians bearing this same accusation see Simon, "A propos de la lettre aux Alexandrins," in *RHJC* (1962), pp. 20–29.

[74]*Hom.* 1.6, *PG* 48, 852.

[75]*Hom.* 1.7, *PG* 48, 853.

said, were "pretexts for dancing and drinking", the Jewish festivals were like "choirs of effeminates and prostitutes."[76]

Chrysostom based his argument, which was rather the statement of a fact, on the verse in Jeremiah: "Thou hadst a whore's forehead, thou refusedst to be ashamed." He expounded: "Where the whore is, the place is called a lupanar ["*porneion*" (brothel)]. What shall I say? It is not only a lupanar and a theatre; the synagogue is also a den of thieves and a lair of wild beasts."[77]

He returned to this definition in a striking summary in the sixth Homily: "A lupanar, a place of all wrongdoing, a demon's refuge, a stronghold of the devil, a ruination of souls, a sink and abyss of perdition: all that one can say will still be less than they deserve." From a forced interpretation he passed, by leaps and bounds, to a broadening of his demonstration. For the first time, the attacks were directed not only against the synagogue as a body representing Judaism, on the basis of theological reasoning. But John Chrysostom's synagogue was the real and actual place of Jewish worship, compared to a "*porneion*", a lupanar. The expansion of his argument went still further, if that were possible, and finally embraced the entire Jewish people in a single accusatory judgment: "less than they deserve." Nothing can describe their abominations, and thus anything is justified by the Jews' very nature.[78]

Everything stated here, in Chrysostom's anti-Jewish sermons, only repeats and summarizes the various points mentioned earlier. It was supported, however (and this is the great difference with pagan anti-Judaism), by an exegetical system which remained in use throughout the Middle Ages. Christian exegetical anti-Judaism, placed at the service of theology and intended to provide fuel for the arguments and discussions surrounding the polemic against the Jews, "pursued a precise aim: to render the Jews odious, to maintain the aversion they inspired in certain elements of the population, and to communicate it to those who

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[76]For the situation in Antioch, see M. Simon, "La Polémique anti-juive de Saint Jean Chrysostome et le mouvement judaïsant d'Antioche," in *RHJC* (1962), pp. 140–53.

[77]*Hom.* 1, 847.

[78]Chrysostom sees the Jews as an example of abomination for everyone. For instance, *Expos. in Ps.*8.3, *PG* 55–110.

were better disposed towards them." It amounted to "a long indictment of the chosen people."[79]

This indictment, made not in a court of law, where there was the ultimate possibility of a defence, but in the churches, by the preacher, from the pulpit, in front of a congregation come to hear the Word inspired by the Holy Spirit, acted as a ferment for the wave of anti-Jewish violence in the fourth century. These outbreaks of violence could take the form of attacks against synagogues. At Tipasa, in Africa, at the beginning of the fourth century, a church, Santa Salsa, replaced the destroyed synagogue.[80] We shall later learn the details of the case at Antioch where, in about the middle of the fourth century, the synagogue of the Kerateion became a church, and the seven sons of Hannah were transformed into Christian saints.[81] In Edessa, at the beginning of the fifth century, Bishop Rabbula turned the synagogue into a church dedicated to St Peter.[82] We have already mentioned the expulsion of the Jews of Alexandria and the seizure of the synagogue of that famous Jewish community in 414, under the direction of the patriarch Cyril of Alexandria.

The examples were numerous, and cannot all be mentioned here.[83] We should, however, mention the importance of the intervention of the Church and of the most celebrated Fathers of the period, particularly in those cases where the emperor's "weakness" tended to favour a return to justice, or at least to clemency. When Theodosius tried to return the expropriated synagogues to the Jewish community at Antioch, he was confronted with Simeon Stylites, who forced him to retreat.[84] In 388, the population of Callinicum in Mesopotamia, led by its bishop, set fire to the synagogue. Theodosius ordered the punishment of those responsible, the compensation of the community and the reconstruction of the synagogue by the bishop.

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[79]Simon, *Verus Israel*, p. 263.

[80]*DACL* I 346.

[81]M. Simon, "Les Saints d'Israël dans la dévotion de l'Eglise ancienne," *RHJC* (1962), pp. 154–80. See ch. 2 pp. 83–88.

[82]Juster, op. cit., I, p. 464, n. 3.

[83]See Parkes, op. cit., p. 232ff. In Eretz Israel at the beginning of the fourth century, bands of monks added massacres to destructions.

[84]Metaphrastes, *Life of St Simeon Stylites*, *PG* **114.** 381.

Ambrose, in his writings, related his intervention in the affair.[85] Not content with justifying the arsonists, he stated that it was the duty of a good Christian to destroy synagogues, and even considered doing the same thing in Milan. Faced with Theodosius's timid refusal to yield, he publicly threatened him with excommunication and the emperor rescinded the restorative measures.

The Councils of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries

The influence of the Church in the drafting of anti-Jewish laws was considerable, although there was often a strong opposition between the imperial government and the ecclesiastical dignitaries. The canons of Councils and personal interventions or influences were often crucial elements in the legislative relations between Jews and Christians in the empire.

From the fourth century, the conciliar canons decreed measures intended to keep the Christians away from the Jews and to prevent the danger of Judaization. At Elvira in 306, Canon 16 forbade Christians, on pain of excommunication for five years, to marry a Christian woman to a Jew or a heretic. Canon 78 forbade extramarital relations between a Christian and a Jewish woman. Canon 49 forbade Christians to ask Jews for a blessing on their fields. Similarly, Canon 50 forbade Christians to share a meal with Jews, and in particular to eat unleavened bread with them and to comply with Jewish dietary laws.[86] All these measures demonstrate the strength and vitality of the relations between Jews and Christians at the beginning of the fourth century. We have seen that in practice these prohibitions corresponded to the attitude of the Jewish rabbis.[87]

The decisions of the Council of Laodicia in 431 once again decreed measures aiming at the total eradication of Judaizing practices.[88] Canon 37 forbade "accepting unleavened bread from

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[85]*Ep.* 40, *PL* 16, 1101. Juster, op. cit., **I**, p. 462, n. 3.

[86]C.J. Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, Edinburgh, 1896, rep. New York, 1972, I, p. 131ff., Canon 50. I.D Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florence and Venice, 1759–98, **II**, 14.

[87]However, in the later Middle Ages, the amplification of these measures in Christian West, led to the ghetto and the total isolation of Jewish communities.

[88]C.J. Hefele, *A History of the Councils*, II, p. 293ff; I.D. Mansi (Can. 37, **II**. 570).

Jews and participating in their impieties", and it proscribed the presence of Jews on Christian feast days. Simultaneously, the celebration of Christian and Jewish festivals on the same date was forbidden, and the Jews were required to choose other dates for the festival of Passover. Canon 16 forbade the reading of the Gospel in churches on Saturdays and required Christians no longer to observe the Sabbath rest, but to work on that day: "It is forbidden for Christians to Judaize and to observe the Sabbath rest. They should work on that day and especially sanctify Sundays, as far as possible by resting. If there are any who Judaize, may they be anathema in the name of Christ."

An echo of the Council's concern may be found in the very hostile language of the "Hymns of Unleavened Bread" of Ephrem the Syrian: "Flee, brethren, from the unleavened bread which symbolizes the sacrament of Judah. Flee, brethren, from the unleavened bread of Israel, for beneath its whiteness there is shame. Brethren, do not accept the unleavened bread of this people whose hands are soiled with blood."[89]

The Apostolic Constitutions, of the same period,[90] forbade priests to enter into a synagogue to pray. Christians were not to fast with Jews, not to light candles on Jewish festivals. "Let slaves work for five days and rest on Saturday and Sunday."

Sermons and homilies, conciliar decrees and imperial ordinances together constituted the foundations of Christian relations with the Jewish people in the fourth and fifth centuries. The personal influence of figures of the Church was of great importance;[91] the influence of the tone of their preaching was no less so.[92] One has to agree with Simon that, for the legislator as for the polemicist, the Jews were now nothing else than "the detestable brood of the murderers of Christ."

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[89]*Hymn. Azym.* **19**. 11–12 and 16 ed. Lamy, II, Malines, 1882, p. 624ff. See Simon, *Verus Israel*, p. 377.

[90]*Canones Apostolorum*, ed. Funk, Paderborn, 1905, I, pp. 583–85.

[91]As we saw in the case of Ambrosius and Theodosius previously. As for John Chrysostom, he was responsible for the promulgation of anti-Jewish measures by Arcadius. Juster, op. cit. I, p. 231, n. 7.

[92]As we saw with respect to Constantine's terminology. The Codex Theodosianus is as "rich" in epithets and as insulting as the writings of the Fathers. Juster, op. cit. I, p. 277.

From the Fifth Century to after Iconoclasm

Precise and detailed legislation concerning the Jews came into being in the fourth century. Its main concern was to repress Jewish proselytism. It was felt that, even if the Jews had a role of bearing witness[93] and their existence was to be tolerated for that reason, they were on no account to be allowed to make converts at the expense of the Christians (who, after all, were the "true Israel"). Tolerance and coexistence could not be taken to the point where it would permit the aberration of leaving the area of recruitment open to those who were the very example of obstinacy in error.[94]

If the imperial government greatly contributed to the creation of a legislative framework for the purpose of keeping the Jews under tight control, the Church, not content to exert its influence in the drafting of these texts and in the re-issuing of imperial decrees, also attempted to deal with the problem of fixing the dates of the religious festivals. From the *Didascalia*, we learn of the problems posed by the date and the significance of Passover.[95] The feast of Passover, which in Jewish tradition is the festival of freedom, of the revelation of God through the liberation from the Egyptian slavery,[96] was transformed here into a reminder of the tragic events of the Passion. Could one say that this is a typically liturgical, internal problem unconnected with our subject? On the contrary, it is directly linked, in this text, with the accusations against the Jews of which we have spoken: "In accordance with the New Testament which I have given you, you must fast on

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[93]"Testes veritatis", Augustine, *Serm.* **201.** 3.

[94]Jerome, who had Jewish teachers for his study of Hebrew (Bar Hanina, in Bethlehem. See G. Bardy, "St Jérôme et ses maîtres hébreux," *RB* 45 (1934), p. 145ff.), abhorred the Judaisers. He also sought to disprove the idea of the Return. In Epistle 129 to Dardanus, stating that Israel, for her sins, had lost the right to the Holy Land until the end of days, he claimed that this same Land has been promised to the Christians through the sanctification of Jesus (Stroumsa, *Vetus Israel*, p. 124).

[95]For an account of the search for a solution through de-synchronization of the Sabbath and Sunday as well as Easter and Passover, see the articles "Dimanche" and "Pâques" in DACL IV, 858 and XIII, 1521, and P. Cotton, *From Sabbath to Sunday*, Oxford, 1933.

[96]The theological meaning of the Christian Easter is the resurrection. For the meaning of Pessa'h in the Jewish tradition see A. Neher, *Moses and the Vocation of the Jewish People*, New York, 1959.

their behalf on the fourth day after the Sabbath, because on that day they began to lose their soul and seized me; and on the day before the Sabbath, you must fast on their behalf because on that day they crucified me during their Passover festival."[97]

In addition to raising a problem of dating (a problem it did not really solve),[98] the *Didascalia* proclaimed the theme of the deicidal people. It claimed that this theme had a theological basis, for the paschal fast on Saturday was simply the restoration of the Mosaic truth; the Sabbath was not to be a day of joy and rest, but was intended from the beginning to be a day of expiation for the murder of Jesus: "He imposed on them, in advance, mourning for their perdition."[99]

Despite this assertion, and despite the constant repetition of the theme of murder, the tone of the *Didascalia* was nevertheless different from that of Chrysostom: "Know then, with regard to the fast which we observe as Passover, that you are fasting for your disobedient brethren. Even though they hate you, we are obliged to call them brethren, because it is written in Isaiah, 'Call those who hate you brethren'."[100]

The decisions of the Council of Nicaea, confirmed by the emperor, fixed the celebration of the Christian Easter at a date which no longer corresponded with that of the Jewish Passover.[101]

This controversy could be regarded as a purely liturgical matter which had no direct bearing on Jewish Christian relations outside the sphere defined by the formal framework of either religion, and, even there, the question of the influence of the respective liturgies has to be considered. In fact, however, it touched on two accusations against the Jews which we have already seen appearing in the works of certain writers. The first was that of deicide, invented by Justin, which was taken up by the unknown author of the *Didascalia* and appeared in the decrees of

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[97]*Didascalia* 5.14.8 and 21. Syriac text and English translation by M.D. Gibson, London 1903.

[98]"Start the fast when your brothers from the (chosen) people celebrate their Passover." *Didascalia* 5.17.1. See also Simon, op. cit. p. 364.

[99]The Didascalia insisted on the apparent resemblance between the practises of the Sabbath and the mourning ritual. *Didascalia* 5.20.

[100]*Didascalia* 5.14.23.

[101]For the persistence of the problem, see Simon *Verus Israel*, pp. 367–73. and L. Duchesne, *La Question de la Pâque au concile de Nicée" RQH* (1880), p. 142.

Nicaea. The second was that of the Jews' hostility towards the Christians ("even though they hate you"), which is stated as a fact. Here one sees the emergence of the myth of the Jew as the implacable enemy of the Christian. One cannot help quoting Chrysostom once again: "The Jews, worse than any wolves, get ready, when their festivals approach, to attack the flock. We have to prepare our weapons in advance."[102]

The Council of Chalcedon, in 451, proclaimed the unity of Christ "in two natures", and divided the Byzantine world into "Orthodox" and "Monophysites". Once again, this appears, on the face of it, to be a purely internal problem of Christianity which, owing to their very distance from the problem, was of no concern to the Jews. We have also seen that the emperors, in their desire to keep the peace, as well as the Church, otherwise occupied, seemed momentarily to have abandoned their attacks on the Jews. Anti-Jewish reactions, however, were not absent from this struggle, for the Monophysites used an antisemitic terminology.[103] The Council of Ephesus, for instance, addressed Nestorius in this manner: "The Holy Assembly to Nestorius, the new Jew."[104] In the middle of the fifth century, in the reign of Marcian, a letter was circulated which was claimed to have been written by the Jews,[105] and which read as follows: "To the magnanimous Emperor Marcian, from the Jewish nation. For a long time, people have believed that our forefathers crucified a god and not a man. Now that the Council has assembled in Chalcedon and decided that they crucified a man and not a god, we ask for our error to be forgiven and for our synagogues to be restored to us."

Whatever the problems of Christianity may have been and however little they concerned the Jews, any occasion could serve

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[102]*Hom.* 4.1, *PG* 48,871. And also Jerome: "Atque utinam sanctorum orationibus non nos inquietarent judaici serpentes ... quorum turba in similitudinem luporum gregem Christi circuientes non parvas nobis excubias et laborem incutiunt, dum volumus oves Domini custodire, ne ab his dilacerentur" *Ep.* 93, *PL* 22, 699.

[103]Mansi, VII. Anastasius calls the upholders of Chalcedonian orthodoxy "Jews." Zacharias Rhetór **VII.** 8, p. 123.

[104]*CSCO* (SS) **III.** IV. *Chron. Minor.*, p 161.

[105]Michael the Syrian (ed. Chabot) **II** p. 91, **VIII.** 12).

as a pretext to make use of them with the purpose of discrediting them and assuring the survival of myths at all costs.

In the reign of Justinian, whose strong personality gave an impetus to the promulgation of decrees, we have seen the importance of the Codex Justinianus where the Jews were concerned. A simple omission—the failure to mention Judaism as a *religio licita* in the empire—divested the Jews of the legality of their worship. At the same time, Novella 132 and the Codex itself[106] declared that the canons of the Church (whose position in these matters we have seen) now had the force of law with regard to the Jews. In Jewish matters, the Church now became the supreme authority, at least in principle.

At the same time, the matter of the date of Passover came up again, and the emperor went back to the conciliar edicts, expanding them to a degree which appears to be absurd if one considers the origins of the problem. The Jews were now forbidden to celebrate Passover on its real date, if it corresponded to the date of the Christian Easter or fell previous to it. Procopius[107] observed that at this period the Jews were forced to neglect divine worship and to transgress their laws.

At this period, the Church was frequently associated with the emperors' decisions with regard to forced conversions. In the reign of the Emperor Maurice, at the end of the sixth century, his brother Domitian, the bishop of Melitene, compelled the Jews of his town to adopt Christianity.[108]

The Persian conquest, with the capture and recapture of Jerusalem, were among the greatest moments of crisis in Byzantium. Earlier, we saw Heraclius's desire to display clemency. Here, too, the position of the Church proved crucial. Priests and nuns, united in a spirit of vengeance, told the emperor that the Jewish sovereignty over Jerusalem had been responsible for more deaths in the Christian community than the Persian conquerors themselves. In order to nullify any disposition to clemency on the part of the emperor—who had bound himself by an oath made to the Jews of Galilee at Tiberias—the Church dealt

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[106]*Cod. Just.* I.3.44.

[107]Procopius, *Hist. Aracam* 28. 16–18.

[108]The Christian chronicle states that they became "only hypocritical Christians." *PO* VIII, p. 733, J. Nikiou (ed.), Zodenberg, 1883, p. 535.

with the matter of the broken promise by decreeing a special day of fasting in order to expiate this sin.[109] Following this, it asked Heraclius to carry out the plan of expelling the Jews from Jerusalem and forcing them to accept baptism.

After Heraclius's death, after this period in which the Church allied itself with the emperor and used every expedient in its vengeful attitude towards the Jews, the Jews took part in the riots of 641 and 651.[110] Moreover, although the decree of forced conversion had not been abrogated, it seems that the Jewish community grew bolder once again to the point that it participated in public theological debates.[111] In about 655, the Jews even dared to ask for the reconstruction of synagogues.[112]

At that time, they appeared to be a serious danger for the Church—both political and religious—and the canons of the Quinisext Council (*in Trullo*) in 692[113] reflected this. These canons had several aspects, sometimes contradictory. Canon 11 repeated the old legislation of the fourth century and seemed preoccupied with the persistent influence of Jewish practices among the Christians. Thus, at the end of the seventh century, it repeated the prohibition against eating unleavened bread, on pain of excommunication for the congregation and exclusion from the priesthood for the clergy. Similarly, it forbade the lighting of fires at the neomenia, at the beginning of the month—a custom mentioned in *Mishna Rosh Hashana* II 3–4.[114] Canon II also forbade Christians to visit Jews, to bathe at the same time as them in the public baths, to accept any medical attention from them or to be treated by a Jewish doctor. These were canonical decrees with a clearly segregationalist intention: Jewish practices which persisted, despite all the Church's efforts, could now only be

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[109]In the Coptic Church there is a day called the "Heraclius fast". Eutychius, *PG* **III**–1090.

[110]Against the patriarch Pyrrhos, in which they attacked the cathedral of Santa Sophia in Constantinople.

[111]Anastasios the Sinaite spoke of "many and frequent controversies and disputes between ourselves and this people". Baron, op. cit. p. 175.

[112]I.e. the synagogue of Syracuse, destroyed two centuries before, at the time of the siege of the town by the Vandals.

[113]Ecumenical Council, later denied by Rome. See Hefele, *A History of the Councils*, V, p. 221ff.

[114]Canon 65.

prevented by keeping the Jewish community, the source of danger, away from any form of contact, even social, with the Christians.

But, as we said, these conciliar decrees were full of internal contradictions: thus, Canon 67 forbade, with the same threats of excommunication and exclusion as before, the consumption of the blood of animals, thus reviving a Jewish prohibition of biblical origin which is one of the basic commandments of the Jewish dietary laws.[115]

On the other hand, the Quinisext Council demonstrated, for the first time, an interest of the Church in art, which served as a vehicle for the Christian message. There, too, one finds the same fear of Jewish contamination as in direct contact, which we have just spoken about: the Council recommended an avoidance of representation of the "shadow" and an encouragement of representation of the "light"—i.e., an avoidance of the depiction of the period of the Law in favour of that of Grace. It forbade the representation of scenes from the Old Testament in orthodox art, including those which had typological content.[116]

There were contradictions, no doubt, but the intention is clear, and the desire for the eradication of the Jewish influence can be observed in all areas.

The Church's Resistance to Forced Conversions

First isolated figures and then the Church itself, from the middle of the seventh century, demonstrated a remarkable change of opinion and a very deep suspicion with regard to attempts to forcibly baptize the Jews.[117] This suspicion had strong theological foundations, as this practice meant introducing into the Church dubious elements, ever liable to revert to their erring ways, and the suppression of the continued existence of the Jewish people as

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[115]Simon, *Verus Israel*, p. 391. This prohibition was not followed by the Latin Church (Aug. *C.Faus.* **32.** 13, *PL* **42.** 504). But the Council of Gangres, towards the middle of the fourth century, already stated it.

[116]Such as the sacrifice of Abraham, the three Hebrews in the fire or Abraham's philoxeny. They reappear at the end of the fourteenth century, mainly in Mariologic cycles and in manuscripts, Hefele, op. cit., p. 234.

[117]Isaac, *Teaching of Contempt*, pp. 230–35.

a witness to the truth of Christianity. It was thus as evident in the theological sphere as in the political, where the forced conversion of Jews implied the creation of internal enemies who were difficult to detect.

After the promulgation of Heraclius's edict, Maximus wrote to Sophronius, who in 634 had become Patriarch of Jerusalem:

> I am alarmed by it for several reasons. First of all, I do not like to see a baptism which is given to people who have not been prepared for it treated with contempt. Then, I think of the danger into which these rebellious souls are hurled. . . . And finally, I see how much apostasy will be encouraged by the intermixture of these faithless converts with the Christian people.[118]

The decisions of the Second Council of Nicaea in 789 stated that baptism should be given only to Jews whose conversion is sincere:

> Certain hypocritical adherents of the Jewish religion, in the desire of mocking Christ our Lord, pretend to be Christians when in secret they deny Him and continue to observe the Sabbath and other Jewish practices. We have decided that they should be admitted neither to communion, nor to prayers, nor to the Church, but that the Jews should live openly, following their own religion. They should neither baptize their children, nor buy slaves, nor possess any. If any of them converts of his own free will and confesses with all his heart, rejecting their customs and practices, and is ready to give them up . . . then accept that individual and baptize him together with his children. Moreover, keep him from apostasy through returning to Jewish practices. Never accept someone who is not this type of person.[119]

Jewish influences on the growth of the iconoclastic movement have by no means been proved, but the allegations of the iconodules who claimed—in order to take advantage of it—that the Jews had been the cause of the trouble, led, as we have seen, to the anti-Jewish decisions of Basil I and Romanus Lecapenus. There too, however, the zeal for conversion of the imperial government was not appreciated by the Church. A treatise written by Gregorios Abestas, some years after Basil's decrees, is evidence of this: he warned of the danger for the Church of ill-considered edicts.[120]

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[118]R. Devreesse, in *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 1937. J. Isaac, op. cit., p. 217.

[119]Canon 8. Mansi, XIII, 373 D-380B; G. Dumeige *Nicée II* (Coll. Histoire des Conciles Oecuméniques 4), Paris, 1978; F. Boespflug, N. Lossky, *Nicée II* 787–1987: *Douze siècles d'images religieuses*, Paris, 1987.

[120]"A treatise stating that the Jews should not be baptized under haste without a previous careful examination" Cf. Starr, *The Jews*, p. 137ff.

In Sparta in about 985, Nikon Metanoites received a delegation which asked him to produce a miracle to stop the plague which was devastating the town. As a condition, he asked for the expulsion of the town's Jews so that the population would no longer be "contaminated by their disgusting practices and the pollution of their religion." Byzantium speaks here in terms which will be, from the fourteenth century in the West, exactly those used in the myth of the Jews as spreaders of the plague.[121]

In fact, the legends which constituted one of the richest pseudo-historical elements of Western iconography were a minor element in Byzantium. The details of the legend of the Invention of the Cross[122] clearly implied the guilt of the Jews and their wish not to reveal where the cross had been hidden by their forefathers after the Crucifixion. The central figure was Judas Cyriacus, the archetypal figure of the Jew: the phonetic connection between the names (Judas = Judaeus = Jew), the roles (Judas Cyriacus and Judas Iscariot) and the diabolical argument of the story has been noticed.[123] The legend claimed that Judas Cyriacus converted and became Bishop of Jerusalem, and when the Empress Helena found the cross, the stubborn Jews were tortured and burnt to death. Yet it must be said that there is no factual evidence of burnings at the stake in the history of Jewish-Christian relations in Byzantium.

Another theme, which was very popular in the West, was that of the profanation by Jews of sacred objects (relics, eucharistic hosts) or images. A document submitted to the Second Council of Nicaea[124] related a sacrilege of this kind and the punishment which was inflicted. Blood and water were said to have sprung out of an icon "crucified" by the Jews. According to the story, the Jews of Beirut, where this episode was supposed to have taken place in Constantine's period, were forced to convert, and the synagogue was turned into a church. For the art historian, who knows the problems related to the depicting of Jesus in the fourth

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[121]Starr, *The Jews*, pp. 167–68; J.R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World*; (rep. New York, 1983), p. 43ff.

[122]See A. Linder, *Ecclesia and Synagoga*, pp. 1035–39.

[123]For these references and also the influence of these formulas even in Christian epitaphs, see A. Linder, *Ecclesia and Synagoga*, notes 67–70.

[124]Mansi, **XIII** 26 and *PG* **XXVIII**–795–806.

century, this, of course, can be no more than a legend, but its importance for the iconoclastic controversy is considerable.[125] Another very similar legend of slightly later date (ninth century) was a variation of the preceding one. An icon of Jesus, knifed by a Jew, bled in the Sacred Well in Sancta Sophia. The Jew, stricken with terror, threw his knife into the well. He was arrested, admitted his crime and was converted.[126]

Clearly, these legends have to be seen in the context of the iconoclast-iconodule controversy. Their "moral" raises also the question of forced conversions in the light of what has already been observed. The Church, in fact, continued to have reservations about these forced conversions. The formula of abjuration, of the beginning of the eleventh century, reflected the Church's official attitude. The candidate for conversion had to swear that he was not converting as a result of force, nor out of fear, nor for the sake of gain or honors or glory, nor out of revenge or because he had been deceived, but out of love of the Christian faith.[127]

The twelfth century saw the beginning of Byzantine's decline *vis-à-vis* the West. The religious struggles, the completion of the schism and then the Crusades, in which the Byzantines suffered together with the Jews, caused the Jews to assume a lower place in their priorities. The last anti-Jewish measures, as we have seen, were those of John III Vatatzes, the emperor of Nicaea. These measures were taken with the approbation of the Church, but very soon rescinded, and, on the accession of the Paleologues, they were not renewed.

If the situation of the Byzantine Jews in their relation to the government and the Church varied from period to period, certain general observations can nevertheless be made. The Jewish community was in the forefront of the preoccupations of the

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[125]For legends of this type used in Western iconography, cf. J. de Voragine *Legenda Aurea* **CXXVII**, p. 608ff.

[126]Cited by G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, p. 302.

[127]Baron, op. cit. p. 184: "... because of force, nor of compulsion, nor of a special levy, nor of fear, nor of poverty, nor of a criminal charge against me, nor for the sake of worldly honor, nor for any gain, nor for money, nor for things promised by someone, nor because of any kind of need or human glory whatsoever, nor for the purpose of avenging myself on the Christians, as a zealot for the Law, nor because of having been wronged by them, but because I love Christ and his faith with my whole soul and heart."

Church in the first centuries. Theology combined with politics to make the Jew the scapegoat of all problems and all difficulties. The anti-Jewish polemic of the fourth and fifth centuries was no doubt responsible for many later anti-Jewish manifestations: it was the basis of the accusatory judgments which were to be used for centuries. Moralizing myths and recriminations originated in its writings. Towards the end of the first millennium, however, interest in the Jewish problem decreased and almost completely vanished with the appearance of other dangers. The myths, so carefully built up, gradually died out, and at the height of the Middle Ages their diminished presence, both in imperial decrees and in the Canons of the Church, was obvious. The situation of the Jews in the Byzantine empire had become far more bearable than it was in the West.

The Contrast with the West

Without entering into details, it is necessary to call to mind certain essential dates and facts[128] in order to grasp, at least schematically, the extensiveness of the contrast. From the beginning of the seventh century, Gregory the Great stressed the importance of the Jews as *testes veritatis* (witnesses of the truth), quoting Augustine. He also proclaimed his desire to desist from forced conversions. He stated, however, that the Jews' degradation proved the gravity of their sin, and therefore sought to limit the functions and the framework of their existence as individuals.

Attempts at forced baptism nevertheless took place, especially in France, on the initiative of local bishops and regardless of papal instructions. In 626, Dagobert ordered the first general expulsion of the Jews from his realm if they refused to adopt Christianity, and from the beginning of the seventh century the practice of Judaism was totally forbidden in Spain, where Jewish children were taken away from their parents and entrusted to Christians. This state of affairs persisted until the end of the reign of the Visigoths.

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[128]For a bibliography, see Introduction, n. 2, 5 and 6 and Chapter 2 notes 30 to 54.

The Merovingians, after their conversion, pursued a policy of intolerance, and it was only with Charlemagne that there was a fundamentally different type of relationship with the Jews. He was the first to recognize the Jewish community as a useful instrument for the international relations of the Holy Roman Empire and a source of cultural enrichment. Accordingly, protections and privileges were accorded to Jewish merchants, and Jewish scholars were encouraged by the court. Nonetheless, ecclesiastical councils reaffirmed the old canonical restrictions, always in force, and periodically added others, especially of a legal nature; the Jew, forced to swear a special oath of an offensive kind (*more Judaico*), was required, in addition, to provide, in a case against a Christian, more character-witnesses than his adversary. Violently antisemitic Church leaders such as Agobard and Amulo, successive bishops of Lyons, entreated the Christian princes to apply the edicts and canons of the Church Fathers to the letter.

Generally speaking, however, despite some serious incidents (such as the striking of the head of the community and the throwing of stones during services in Holy Week in the south of France, for example), the ecclesiastical ordinances continued to be neglected, with the complicity of the princes, until Capetan times. On the whole, from the ninth century until the middle of the eleventh, the Jewish communities in France were prosperous (with a few dramatic exceptions: the Jews were banished from Senlis in 870, and in 1010, accused of collaborating with the Normans, they were forced to accept baptism or be exiled).

From the ninth to tenth centuries, Jews settled in the valleys of the Rhine, the Danube and the Elbe. There were close contacts between the French and German communities (Rashi travelled from Troyes to Worms), and conditions in the two regions were more or less identical (with many sombre periods).

Around the middle of the eleventh century, the Jews reached England from France with the Norman conquest, and from London spread out to the provincial cities.

The end of the eleventh century was marked by the Pope's appeal to Christendom to recapture the Holy Land from the infidels. The year of 1095 saw the beginning of one of the most tragic periods of the existence of the Jewish people in the West.

The Crusaders chose to attack, on their way, the oldest and most stubborn of the infidels, who were also the nearest to hand. The Jewish martyrology comprises an inexhaustible list of cities where successive massacres took place, including Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Cologne, Trier, Salonika and Jerusalem (on the crusaders' entry into the Holy City). On their way they killed Eastern Christians along with Jews.

The Second Crusade extended its murderous activities from Germany into France, where Bernard of Clairvaux very strongly opposed its actions, which he regarded as unworthy of the Crusaders. In England, during the Third Crusade, the names of London, Norwich, Bury St Edmunds, King's Lynn and York were added to the long list of massacres. The Jewish blood shed by the Crusaders between the Jewish festivals of Passover and Shavuot (Pentecost) was the sign of an exacerbation of religious passions already nourished by theological arguments and increased by the influence of the liturgy upon the people. The phrase "*Oratio pro perfidis judaeis*" included in the liturgy from the seventh or eighth centuries onward, is but one example. The term "*perfidis*" (which can be understood as more or less pejorative) and the prohibition of genuflexion in the sole case of the Jews produced a mental association which was used to provide a religious justification for all excesses. It should be recalled here that this offensive word was excised from the prayer by Vatican Council II which recognized its dangerous significance.

The first accusations of ritual murder were also connected with Passover. They spread throughout Europe: from William of Norwich in 1144 to Simon of Trent in 1475—to mention no more than two famous links of a wretched mediaeval chain—they related the myth of the assassination of a Christian child by the Jews and the use of his blood in the preparation of Passover *mazzot*. The Jews thus came to be regarded as the real, actual enemies of the Christians, and a suitable "punishment" was not long in coming: the Jews were burned in Blois in 1171, marking the beginning of a long series of burnings at the stake in the Western world.

Theological anti-Judaism was thereafter accompanied by a popular antisemitism. The two combined with one another and with a frenzied imagination to create new myths, new legends (such as the desecration of the host or of holy images) and new

"functions" imposed on the Jews (such as usury, forbidden to Christians by the Church, but recommended for the Jews, who in any case were "lost souls", and thus were only allowed this sole "permitted" profession). Passing from discrimination to prohibitions and from accusations to the stake, the system of degradation reached its climax with the fourth Lateran Council of 1215. The concilliary decrees of the West were characterized by an originality which was unknown to the Greek Orient. Canon 68 stipulated that Jews and Saracens

> in every Christian province and at all times shall be marked off in the eyes of the public from other peoples through the character of their dress. Particularly, since it may be read in the writing of Moses (Numbers 15:37–41) that this very law has been enjoined upon them.

It was in France in 1217 that it was made obligatory to wear the *rota*, the *rouelle* (circle), which Philip Augustus made into a badge which had to be renewed and repurchased every year. The obligation to wear it became general in the whole of France under Louis IX, otherwise known as St Louis, on June 19, 1269. Accused of all crimes, recognizable by their yellow circle, despised and accursed, the Jews were finally expelled from France under Philip the Fair in 1306. In England, the badge of shame was the *tabula*, which took the form of the Tables of the Law, thus combining contempt with theology. In 1290, the Jews were expelled from England. In Germany and the whole of the Holy Roman Empire, after having seemingly been the hat generally worn by Jews, the *pileus cornutus* or *Judenhut* (Jewish hat) became compulsory. In the fifteenth century, the *rouelle* was added for good measure, and bells at the bottom of women's dresses, like a leper's rattle. In Germany, there was no general expulsion but successive localized expulsions, and thus the Jews had to move from one city to another.

In Spain, oppressive Christian measures after the *Reconquista* drove the Jews towards Moslem countries, and for that reason there were many cases of immunity. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, the Jews were forced to wear a red or yellow sign. The Inquisition, with its succession of trials and burnings at the stake and its search for ill-converted "new Christians", led to the expulsion of the Jews of Spain in 1492 and to that of the Jews of Portugal in 1495. Italy remained a haven of

peace and reason owing to the wisdom of popes which sometimes contradicted the decisions of the Councils, but which only affected the Papal States themselves. In 1120, the bull *Sicut Judaeis* offered the Jews protection, and it was confirmed many times until the fifteenth century. From the mid-thirteenth century, however, the Jews were nevertheless obliged to wear the yellow circle, and it was the papacy which in the sixteenth century invented the official ghetto by deciding on a quarter in which to isolate the Jews in the bull *Cum Nimis Absurdum* in 1555, after the Jews had already of their own accord chosen separate quarters in some locations.

The badge of shame remained in force until the French Revolution and the civil emancipation of the Jews in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, the physical existence of the Jews was not the only object of anti-Jewish hatred. The people of the Book, the *testes veritatis* (witnesses of the truth) were attacked in the very symbol of their faith: their spiritual and cultural heritage, all that remained to them—their books. France was distinguished once again by its sense of innovation: on Friday the 17th of June 1242, twenty-four cartloads of Jewish manuscripts, especially copies of the Talmud, were publicly burnt in Paris. The flames of these pyres were accompanied by theological disputations and imprecatory addresses by Dominicans in the synagogues.

Massacres and expulsions caused the Jews to set out once more on their way, and their wanderings gave rise to new legends, this time of a moralizing nature: the Jews, it was claimed, poisoned the wells, where they bathed and washed away their stench, the *foetor Judaicus*, and in this way gave material expression to their hatred of the Christians. They were held to be responsible for the Black Death, thus personifying in themselves the whole religious, political and moral symbolism of Evil.

Nothing like this—in its deadly virulence, in the primal anti-Judaism of religious authorities, in the hatred of the populace, sustained by sermons, liturgy and mystery plays—nothing like this took place in the history of the Jewish community in the Byzantine world. If the origin was the same, the route taken was quite different. Not that the difficult road of the common life of Jews and Christians in Byzantium was paved solely with good

intentions. The anti-Jewish manifestations and decrees prove otherwise, but the explosion of hatred contemporary with the Crusades was absent. One does not find the lethal spread of myths with a theological resonance; the Jews were not marked with a sign intended to single them out as spiritual lepers, they were not burned in public squares, nor were they expelled from the empire. No manuscripts were thrown into a "purifying" fire; on the contrary, they served as models for Christian artists.

While Western art bears witness to the martyrdom of the Jewish communities in Catholic countries in the Middle Ages, the image of the Jew in Byzantine art enables us to assess the influence of the daily reality of Jewish life in Byzantium on the iconography of Eastern Christendom.

2

Iconography of the Jew in Byzantium

WHEN we approach the world of images, we are struck by both the variety and the complexity of the representations of Jews in Byzantine iconography. Whether it was the illustration of Old Testament texts, the visual transcriptions of Gospel narratives or the description of Jesus's environment and the scenes and settings of his life, there were numerous reasons for painting Jews.

By what characters can the Jews be recognized as such? Can they be distinguished from other ethnic types, and, if so, how? Is the distinction a functional one, or is it revealed by conventional signs? Do costume, attributes and particular physical features contribute to this identification? Is it possible to lay down rules, arrange the representations according to a typology and rely on classifications?

Here we shall attempt to single out a number of elements which will help us in identifying certain groups of representations. Far from aiming to be exhaustive, this classification is meant to reveal norms: the norms used in the delineation of Jews. By means of them, we may understand the way in which the Byzantine artists "saw" the Jewish protagonists of the scenes which they depicted. It is only after analyzing these prototypes that we shall be able to hazard a guess as to whether the image of the Jew in Byzantine art was the reflection of the theological ideas and politics of the period, or whether, on the contrary, it revealed a search for some perhaps distant historical truth, carried out in a deliberately objective and neutral manner.

The First Representations

The first Jews depicted in Christian art will be analyzed in the framework of Roman and not Byzantine art. The lack of early Byzantine works of art makes the reference to Christian Roman art indispensable; these works were doubtless molded in the same crucible, for the Roman Empire was still one at the time. These Jews were the first protagonists of animated scenes intended to proclaim, in pictorial language, the principles and dogmas of the Christian faith. The themes of salvation were painted on the walls of catacombs and sculpted in the stone of sarcophagi in "image-signs",[1] the details of which were of little importance compared with their function in the pictogram. The choice of subject was determined by a typology of salvation, and that was where Jewish characters found their initial role.

That role, in fact, corresponded closely to the one which they had in the text of the Gospels and in the early Christian liturgy, which was largely adapted from the Jewish liturgy.[2] The same biblical characters were to be found there, with a far greater evocative power than the simple narrative force of a visual transcription. On the walls of the catacombs are mingled, in a non-chronological order, Noah and the dove, Jonah beneath his gourd, Abraham and Isaac, Moses and the burning bush, and the three Israelites in the furnace.[3] One could multiply examples, both of the commoner scenes and the more uncommon ones:[4] one soon notices that, in the art of the catacombs, there is no difference in the way in which the different characters are represented. Whether Jews or new Christians, biblical characters

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[1]A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, Princeton, 1980, pp. 142–43.

[2]D. Flusser, "Jewish Roots of the Liturgical Trishagion", *Immanuel* 1973 p. 37ff. and see also the text of the prayer "Mi-che-ana" and its very close corespondance to the "Ordo Commendatio Animae," for example in M. Simon, *Verus Israel*, p. 75. See also Leclercq, DACL 4, 1, 435–40. I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Frankfurt, 1924, pp. 17, 27, 61, 248. W. Bousset, "Eine jüdische Gebetsammlung im 7 Buch des apostolichen Konstitutionen," *Nachrichten der Wissenschafte*, Gottingen, 1915, pp. 435–89.

[3]A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, p. 95ff.

[4]Jacob or Samson in the Catacomb at the Via Latina. K. Weitzmann (ed.) *Age of Spirituality*, Catol. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1979, pp. 472–73, no. 423; L. Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, "Die neue Katakombe an der Via Latina in Rom, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Supp. 4, 1976.

or witnesses of miracles, participants in scenes from the Gospels or protagonists of scenes from the Old Testament, nothing distinguishes one from another. In this essentially conceptual art, biblical characters are not perceived as "Jewish" in the sense of being different any more than the groups which follow or surround Jesus are perceived as being different.

Moreover, the pictorial language was not new: it was that of the classical world, in which the Jews were not recognizable, although the barbarians were distinguished.[5] Indiscriminately, Moses or Abraham in the Via Latina catacomb (Fig. 1), Noah in the catacomb of Priscilla or Jonah in that of Callixtus have no distinctive signs except the attributes of their function in the plan of salvation. Dressed like Romans or Greeks in a long chlamys and mantle, they are bareheaded and barefooted, though sometimes with sandals. They are distinguished only by their attributes, which are also limited to the essential: the staff and the water issuing from the rock for Moses, the dove and the olive-branch for Noah, and the ship and the gourd for Jonah.

When these characters appear in narrative cycles, there, too, they are not depicted differently. The whole of Jonah's unhappy story is shown on the reliefs of the sarcophagus of Santa Maria Antiqua (Fig. 2): cast out by the sailors from the ship which was carrying him, in the hope of calming the storm, he sleeps under the "*kikkayon*" in the pose of Endymion, adapting, for the purposes of the biblical narrative,[6] the iconography of Greek and Roman mythology.[7] Nothing distinguishes him from the other characters around him; nothing suggests the Jewishness of the prophet. He is represented with the purpose of expressing the relationship between the sign and the accomplishment, as described in Matthew.[8]

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[5]For example, the Trajan column, where the barbarians have very typical garments and physical features. E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, Cambridge, MA, 1980, pp. 14–16, Fig. 13–18.

[6]Jonas 4:6–11.

[7]See, for Jonas and Endymion, H. Leclercq, *DACL*, 7, 2, col. 2572–2631. And for a more extenxive bibliography, B. Narkiss, "The Sign of Jonah," *Gesta*, 18 (1979), pp. 63–76.

[8]Math. 12:38–42.

The sarcophagus of Junius Bassus shows Abraham with his hand resting on the head of the young Isaac, who is kneeling in front of the altar. Abraham is bearded and is holding a knife. He is dressed in the same way as Daniel in the lions' den on the lower panel, and both are bareheaded and barefooted. They are not distinguished by any chronology or place of origin. In the scenes of the judgment of Jesus or Peter, the characters are clothed and presented in the same way.[9]

Examples can be multiplied *ad infinitum*. The great majority of characters of Jewish origin in paleo-Christian art belong to the category of pseudonarrative image-signs. Exceptions are very rare: among these, one should perhaps include a painting from the catacomb of Priscilla (Fig. 3) showing the prophet Isaiah, next to the Virgin and the Child, proclaiming the latter's birth.[10] If the identification of the scene is correct, this would be one of the first examples of typological confrontation, of which there were so many in the fourth and sixth centuries. Here one has two periods, two stages in revelation, and yet, here too, nothing distinguishes the Jewish prophet, nothing identifies him as a Jew—the essential element in the representation being his role as an announcer.

The works in which the Old and New Testaments are paralleled—either balanced or placed in opposition, one does not always know which[11]—continue to portray biblical Jews and those contemporary with Jesus without distinction of costume or other distinguishing signs. The doors of Santa Sabina[12] portray Moses and Elijah in the classical tradition of anonymity. The

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[9]Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, Vatican, St Petrus grottos. See E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, p. 26, Fig 43 and A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, p. 13, Fig. 29. Also F.W. Deichmann (ed.), *Repertorium des christlichenantiken sarkophagen*, Wiesbaden, 1967, p. 279ff., no. 680, Pl. 104.

[10]A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, p. 141, Fig. 12, for the discussion of identification problems.

[11]This is the main question concerning works such as the Lipsanotheque of Brescia, or the Maximian Cathedra. R. Delbrueck, *Probleme der Lipsanotek in Brescia*, Bonn, 1952; E. Volbach, *Elfenarbeiten des spätantike und frühen Mittelalters*, 3rd col. Mainz 1976; C. Cecchelli, *La Cattedra di Massimiano ed altri avorii romano–orientali*, Rome, 1936.

[12]M. Darsy, *Bibliographie chronologique des études publiées sur les Portes de Sta Sabina*, Rome, 1954. And also S. Tsuji, "Les Portes de Ste Sabine," in *Cahiers Archéologiques* **13** (1962), pp. 13–28. And K. Weitzmann (ed.) *Age of Spirituality*, pp. 486–88,Pl. 438.

correspondence between the Old and New Testaments did not depend on the choice of characters as representatives of the Jewish people as against the new Christian people, but on the choice of scenes which served as archetypes of scenes in the New Testament.

It is in another major work of the fifth century, the cycle of mosaics at Santa Maria Maggiore,[13] that one can see the first attempt at characterizing certain figures, while at the same time the typological emphasis is placed, in the same scene, on a juxtaposition of figures or elements which have no chronological reason to be together. The most striking example is undoubtedly the panel of the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek (Fig. 4): the two figures occupy an important position in the mosaic, and Abraham, accompanied by armed warriors,[14] emerges from the right-hand corner of the panel. He holds out his hand to Melchizedek, who offers him a basket full of loaves: between them, on the ground, is a large amphora. Above them, in a sky floating with little clouds, there appears at half length a haloed and bearded character who holds out his hand to Melchizedek, but not to Abraham.

This scene is loaded with all the theological significance of Melchizedek in the Epistle to the Hebrews.[15] Typologically, the main character of the scene is not Abraham but Melchizedek, as is clearly expressed by the composition and its central axis. There is one significant detail, moreover, which emphasizes the importance of this character: for the first time, a biblical personage wears a costume different from the classical kind which seemed unalterable. It is neither a chlamys nor a long tunic, but a short tunic extending to slightly above the knees and revealing boots. Over his shoulders he wears a mantle (*lacerna*), also of a special

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[13]B. Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, Wiesbaden, 1975; C. Cecchelli, *I Mosaici della Basilica di Sta Maria Maggiore*, Turin, 1956; H. Karpp, *Die frühchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Mosaiken in Sta Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, Baden-Baden, 1966; S. Spain, *The Program of the Fifth-Century Mosaics of Sta Maria Maggiore*, (Diss.) New York University, 1968.

[14]Gen. 14:14–24.

[15]Hebr. 7:1–11 and Ps. 109(110), v. 4. Cf. *Bible d'Alexandrie*, ed. Paris, Genèse, pp. 160–61. See M. Simon, "Melchisédech dans la polémique entre Juifs et Chrétiens et dans la légende" *RHJC* 1962, pp. 101–126.

type, forming a cape and joined in the middle with a brooch. The *lacerna* and boots was a combination known to the ancient world, and was a costume worn by oriental rulers and princes. Persian in origin and transmitted through the Greek theatre,[16] it is found, from the third century, at Dura, where Zoroaster, in the Mithraeum, is dressed in it.[17] Aaron, in the Tabernacle panel, wears the same costume with the addition of a miter, the *miznefet* of the High Priest.[18] Melchizedek, the "priest of the most high God", is dressed in this same costume, which may be described, owing to its origins, as exotic. He thus becomes one of the first biblical characters to be distinguished from the mass and to emerge from anonymity, no doubt because of his typological role.

Did this constitute a distinction of identity or a distinction of function? Other panels in Santa Maria Maggiore can provide an answer to this question. The scene of the separation of Lot and Abraham shows the two characters in the foreground, guiding two different groups in opposite directions. Both characters are dressed in the same way, with a chlamys, a mantle draped on their left shoulder and sandals. Both are represented as old men with beards and white hair. On the upper level of the panel showing the life of Moses, however, Moses' marriage to Zippora is conducted by a Jethro dressed in a short tunic fastened with a belt, and with a *lacerna* over his shoulders fastened with a large round clasp. Neither the Levites bearing the Ark beneath the walls of Jericho,[19] nor Moses, Aaron or Joshua in the panel showing the tabernacle,[20] follow this pattern. The Levites wear short tunics and boots, but no *lacerna* and as for Moses, Aaron and Joshua, they are dressed, like Abraham, in a chlamys, mantle, and sandals. But the priests (*cohanim*) standing before and behind the Ark wear a *lacerna* over their shoulders.

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[16]A. Alföldi, "Gewaltherrscherr und Theaterkönig," in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A.M. Friend*, Princeton, 1955. See also my article "Problèmes d'iconographie judéo-chrétienne: le thème de la coiffure du Cohen Gadol dans l'art byzantin," *JJA* 1 (1974), pp. 50–66.

[17]See C.H. Kraeling, *The Excavations at Doura-Europos, Final Report VIII: The Synagogue*, New Haven, 1956, p. 130ff. He also has a Phrygian cap.

[18]E. Revel-Neher, *Le Signe de la Rencontre*, p. 145, Fig. 60.

[19]E. Revel-Neher *Le Signe de la Rencontre*, pp. 146–48, Fig. 63–65. Josh. 3.

[20]H. Karpp, *Die frühchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Mosaiken in Sta Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, Baden-Baden, 1966, Fig. 119.

The absence of one single model is not a matter of chance, nor is it due to an ignorance of the interpretation given to the characters. The distinction made between the characters is not intended to reveal their identity, but their function. It is the role they play in the scene depicted which necessitates the provision of an exotic costume, even if neither costume is Jewish; thus an active priestly function requires the *lacerna*, which Aaron wore at Dura (Fig. 5). Melchizedek, in being given one, is distinguished as the priest-archetype of Jesus. Jethro, the priest of Midian wears one, as he symbolizes the typological significance of the sacrament of marriage when he marries Moses and Zippora. Neither Moses nor Aaron, and, least of all, Joshua (who is described as a warrior) has an active priestly role in the scene showing the scouts.

The use of this functional costume—not a Jewish costume, but one which signifies a particular function—crystallized around the figure of Melchizedek in the sixth century. An exceptional illumination of the Vienna Genesis,[21] folio 4 recto (the only one in the entire manuscript with a typological significance), shows Abraham and Melchizedek together in a scene on two levels. Above, one sees the offering of a tithe of the flock, and below, Melchizedek's offering of bread and wine (Fig. 6). Abraham, dressed in the long tunic and mantle, has veiled his hands as a sign of deference.[22] Melchizedek is wearing a short tunic, puffed-up trousers and boots, and a blue *lacerna* with a golden border. He is also wearing a delicate tiara above his hair. The typological reference is given to the scene by an altar surmounted by a ciborium, just behind Melchizedek.

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[21]Vienna Cod gr. 31 J. Gutmann, "Joseph Legends in the Vienna Genesis," *Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies* IV (1973) pp. 181–84; M.D. Levin, "Some Jewish Sources for the Vienna Genesis," *Art Bulletin* 54 (1972), pp. 241–44; C.O. Nordstrom, "Some Jewish Legends in Byzantine Art," *Byzantion* 35–37 (1955–57), pp. 487–508; O. Pacht, "Ephraim illustration, Haggadah und Wiener Genesis," in J. Gutmann, *No Graven Images*, New York, 1971, pp. 249–60; E. Revel, "Contribution des textes rabbiniques a l'étude de la Genèse de Vienne," *Byzantion* 42 (1972), pp. 115–30; K. Weitzmann, "The Question of the Influence of Jewish Pictorial Sources on Old Testament Illustration," in J. Gutmann, op. cit., pp. 309–38.

[22]A. Dieterich, *Das Ritus der verhüllten Hände*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1911; S. G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 1985.

The exotic costume is also to be found in other sixth-century works, particularly in Ravenna. In S. Vitale,[23] in a lunette showing the types of the Eucharist, Abel and Melchizedek are represented together in front of an altar (Fig. 7). Here, of course, there is no narrative cycle, no parallelism as in Santa Sabina, or even a Christological reference as in Santa Maria Maggiore. On this occasion, there is a juxtaposition of two figures separated by historical chronology, but which both have the role of forerunners of the true sacrifice. Their attributes, the lamb and bread, are recognized by Christian typology as Old Testament symbols of the Eucharist. If Abel is dressed in an animal's skin and sandals, Melchizedek wears the signs of his priestly function: boots and a *lacerna*. An exceptional figure who plays an exceptional role in the Christian scheme of things, he is distinguished from the mass by his exotic costume.

From this first attempt at "defining" a character, in his particular typological function, by means of particular costume, one cannot draw any conclusions concerning a desire to stereotype Jews in the fifth and sixth centuries. Melchizedek, one must remember, was at the heart of the Jewish Christian polemic and was a problematic figure for Judaism, while in Christian theology he was an archetype of Jesus, and certainly not an archetype of the Jew. In his portrayal one can see only a desire to distinguish him from the mass, which remained anonymously classical in its costume. Melchizedek, like Aaron at Dura or like the oriental prince in the Greek theatre, was distinguished by his function and not by his identity.

The Signs of Identity

Is one to conclude, then, that there were no signs of a characterization of Jews in the Byzantine art of the sixth century? Did paleo-Christian art and that of the first Byzantine golden age not

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[23]F.W. Deichmann, *Geschichte und Monumente. Ravenna: Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, **2**, Wiesbaden, 1976, pp. 47–206. The sacrifice of Abel and the offering of Melchisedech are included in the early eucharistic liturgy. See J. Speyart Van Woerden, "The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham," *Vigiliae Christianae* 15 (1961), pp. 214–55. In S. Appollinare Nuovo also, the priest of the Judgment of Jesus wears a *lacerna*.

know, or were they unwilling to attach to the characters in their iconography, a label identifying them as Jews? Were the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, so preoccupied with devising anti-Jewish measures, so taken up with polemical discourse, unacquainted with any illustrative formula which would translate them into images? Moreover, was there, at that period, any feature of dress which was special to the Jews, or were they dressed in exactly the same way as all the Byzantine emperor's other subjects?

In fact, it was precisely in the sixth century that the first elements of an original iconographical tradition of the representation of the Jew in Byzantium appeared. This tradition was to persist, in spite of technical and iconographical changes, until the fall of the Byzantine Empire and even later in Balkan art.

In the Bible, two passages (Nb. 15:37–41; Deut. 22:11) deal with the Jew's dress, the sanctification of his external appearance, reminding him of his duty to observe the commandments. The first concerns the *tallit*, and the second the prohibition of mixed materials. One should also add the texts which describe, not a mere detail of costume, but a sign (*ot*) and which command every Jew to bind his forehead with *tefillin* (Ex. 13:1, 3:16; Deut. 6:4–9, 11:18). These were the distinctive elements of Jewish costume from the biblical period until the Middle Ages, when the Western Church required Jews to wear particular items of clothing.[24] The latter constraint did not exist in the Eastern Church and its art depicted a Jew unknown to Western art—the Jew defined by his observance of the commandments concerning his garments and his external appearance in daily life.

If we recall the biblical texts in question and their significance in Judaism, it will help us to understand the importance of the depiction of some details of costume in Byzantine art. This is the first relevant text:

> And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the borders a ribbon of blue: And it shall be unto you as a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them; and that ye seek not after your own heart and your own eyes, after which ye use

[24]See above pp. 40–2, and also pp. 101–3.

to go awhoring: That ye may remember, and do all my commandments, and be holy unto your God. I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the Lord your God (Numbers 15:37–41).

The garment of the Jew must possess, at its four corners, an addition which distinguishes it visibly from the normal clothing. The *ziziot*, the fringes, which distinguish the Jew's clothes from those of other peoples, are a reminder of the imperious demands of the divine commandments which the Jew cannot escape. They are a reminder, also, of the holiness, the sanctification of the body which these garments envelop—the sanctity of the Jew before God. This text is one of the main elements in the daily liturgy, in the morning and evening prayers. This passage both establishes the difference in clothing between Jews and other nations and proclaims the immanence of the God of Israel.

Historically, apart from these biblical injunctions, nothing is known of Jewish dress in the ancient world. The remains found in the caves of Judea during the archaeological digs of 1060–61 however, have provided a certain answer to that question, at any rate where the Judaism of the Roman world is concerned. The remains of tunics found together with the bones of Bar Kochba's companions—poignant relics of the Second Revolt against the Romans[25] in 132–135—are the most ancient garments which are known to have been worn by Jews; more important, they were closely associated with the observance of the commandments[26] (Pl. I–II). Ygael Yadin subjected them to analysis and showed that both their fabric and their decoration were in complete accordance with talmudic texts.[27] Tunics with long horizontal stripes over the whole fabric were one of the features of this type

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[25]Y. Yadin, *Ha-hipoussim a' har Bar-Kochba*, Jerusalem, 1971 (Hebrew). English edition: *The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome*, Jerusalem, 1972. See K. Wessel, Art. *Gammadia*, in *R.B.K.* II, 615–20. Also, recently, Cl. Nauerth, "Zur Herkunft der sogenannten Gammadia," *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst. Friedrich W. Deichmann gewidmet*, Part 3, Bonn, 1986, pp. 113–19.

[26]Y. Yadin, op. cit. p. 66ff.; for Bar Kochba's letter on the details of the choosing of a *lulav*, see p. 128ff.

[27]Yerushalmi Chabath 16 (Yadin, op. cit. p. 73) and Yerushalmi Moed Katan 1 (Yadin ibid.). Only in one instance, do the Gospels make allusion to this observance. See Mathew 9:20. As far as I know, this detail was never illustrated in Christian art.

of garment: this is still the Jewish *tallit* today.[28] The *ziziot*, the fringes which were attached to the four corners, did not remain and Yadin correctly accounted for this by pointing out that in early times, it was customary to remove the *ziziot* from the *tallit* of the dead before burial.[29] Nevertheless, *ziziot* were found in the caves, near the remains of the clothing (Fig. 8).

In Dura, the individual panel showing Moses receiving the law provides an extremely clear example of the Jew's garment, the *tallit* with the *ziziot* attached. The right-hand corner of the garment ends with three pieces of dark wool which stand out clearly against the background (Pl. III). One finds the same detail in the scene of the Exodus from Egypt, where Moses is twice depicted with precisely delineated fringes at the corner of his garment (Pl. IV). As with the tunics of Bar Kochbas's companions, Moses' garment is decorated with dark horizontal stripes which make its decoration identical to that of the second-century remains. One cannot insist too strongly on the importance of what may seem to be only a minor detail of representation: Jewish art and the archeology of Eretz Israel thus combine to produce a single image of the Jewish costume in the period of the Mishnah.

Paleo-Christian art, however, only reflected this costume in a general way. The most striking feature of its representation was not these short fringes which trailed close to the ground, but the garment itself, the *tallit* to which the fringes were attached and which was crossed by broad stripes of dark fabric.

In that, paleo-Christian art was simply borrowing Roman features, well known in the history of costume:[30] the *tunica*, the ancient Greek chiton, a basic dress which apart from youngsters and slaves, was worn at a length close to the ankles. This tunic was adorned with *clavi*, horizontal stripes (*angustus clavus*) colored in brown or purple; they extended down each side of the

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[28]Improperly called a prayer shawl. Pieces of fabric identified by Yadin as *tallitot* were found in the caves; see pp. 72–79. Medieval Jewish iconography shows numerous examples of *tallitot*, see further in Fig. 60–65 and pp. 97–9 below.

[29]Shulhan Arukh: Yoreh Deah, Hil'hot Avelut 175.

[30]M.V. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration*, London, 1977; R.T. Wilcox, *The Dictionary of Costume*, London, 1973. And of course A. Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume*, London, 1981 (rep. ed.).

tunic, front and back. They were a mark of the upper class, but it seems that about 300 C.E. it began to be a purely decorative motive. The second element of Roman costume borrowed by paleo-Christian art was the *pallium* (Greek *himation*), the philosopher's cloak which covers one shoulder and an arm. At Dura, Moses' *pallium* is interpreted by the artist as a *tallit* and ornamented with *gamma*, or *gammadia*, a pattern formed by a short rectangular patch terminated by a crenelated design. This is also the pattern which can be seen on the pieces of cloth (*tallitot*) found in the Judean caves by Y. Yadin. The difference in design between the straight crenelated pattern and the angular one, which resembles the letter gamma in the Greek alphabet, has been attributed by Yadin to a distinction between men and women. The folds of the *tallit*, as for example in the Dura panel of David's annointing, may have given the impression that all the crenelated patterns were in the form of *Gamma*, thus leading to the confusion with paleo-Christian representations (Fig. 9). These constituted for the Christian artist, without distinctions of form or attribution, the pecularity of costume of the whole community of the Jewish world from the period of the Old Testament to that of Jesus. Some of the clearest examples are those on the panels of the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo (Fig. 10) and S. Vitale (Fig. 11). Is one to conclude that the artists were attempting to identify a community by its costume—a costume identical to that depicted at Dura—or simply that they were using a prototype which had become accepted? The fate of this type of costume in art after the sixth century has to be taken into consideration, and in the following pages will provide a partial answer to this question.

Before considering this matter, however, we should briefly recall the two other biblical commandments concerning costume. The second one deals with the prohibition of mixtures: "Thou shalt not wear a garment of diverse sorts, as of woollen and linen together" (Deuteronomy 22:11). This prohibition immediately follows that against the mixing of different species of animals: "Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together" (Deuteronomy 22:10). The confusion of species and the mingling of the animal kingdom (wool) with the vegetable (linen) are prohibited to the same degree, as a disruption of the divine order of the creation. This second commandment with regard to clothing is no

less important than the first, but it cannot be spotted by the casual observer, it is totally untranslatable into pictorial terms and no trace of it can be seen in the representations.

The same, however, cannot be said about the third commandment which determined the external appearance of the Jews in the ancient world, although it did not, strictly speaking, concern a detail of costume:

> And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine arm, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth: for with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt (Exodus 13:9).
>
> And it shall be for a token upon thine arm, and for frontlets between thine eyes: for by strength of hand the Lord brought us out of Egypt (Exodus 3:16).
>
> Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord: And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these works, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine arm, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates (Deuteronomy 6:4–9).
>
> Therefore shall ye lay up these words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your arm, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes (Deuteronomy 11:18).

This series of texts, which all centre on a dual theme—the bestowal of liberty at the time of the exodus from Egypt and the profession of a perfect faith in the One God—carry an obligation which goes together with the acceptance of the divine commandments. This obligation, which the biblical text mentions several times, is symbolic in character: to bind on the forehead and on the arm "these words which I command thee this day." Their presence, at once material and symbolic, was an essential feature of the Jew's external appearance.

The *tefillin* which every Jew wears every morning, excepting Sabbaths and festivals, are two little cubic boxes, one for the forehead and the other for the left arm, held by strips or thongs of black leather. They are worn on the arm and forehead, but today they are only worn during the daily prayers, either alone or in the community. The boxes contain the handwritten texts on parchment of the following passages: Exodus 13:1–10 and 10:11–16, and Deuteronomy 6:4–9.

The Talmud mentions *tefillin* which were worn throughout the day.[31] The *tefillin* were worn from morning to evening, but not at night, on the Sabbath or on festivals. The Jews were thus distinguished by this visible "sign". Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai never walked four cubits without his *tefillin*,[32] which he wore with pride, for in this way everyone knew that he represented the name of the Lord. These two references clearly concern a sign, of symbolic value, which the Jew of the Talmudic period wore with pride, for it distinguished him from the mass of those surrounding him as a being consecrated to his duties towards God. This was a source of pride and faith, but, at a certain period, no doubt a source of danger as well. Jerome related[33] that the Jews of his time feared to appear in towns in public, for they attracted attention. They were no doubt recognizable by the wearing of *tefillin*.

In the same way as with the *tallit*, archaeological discoveries support the evidence of the texts. The *tefillin* found at Qumran[34] are similar to those described in detail in the Talmud: they confirm the existence and use of these symbolic objects which testified to the specific Jewish character of the person who wore them.

Unlike the *tallit*, however, *tefillin* are not to be found in the Dura paintings. And here the question arises—one which is still unanswered, and which will no doubt remain so for a long time—whether, from the middle of the third century, there were no regions where the obligation of wearing *tefillin* was restricted to the morning prayers, and whether the painter at Dura did not deliberately refrain from representing this detail out of a feeling that this was a symbol of faith and not a sartorial detail which needed to be reproduced in scenes with figures.

And yet the fact remains that if, for the painter of Dura, *tefillin* were not necessary in order to reveal the Jewishness of the

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[31]Mena'hot 36b.

[32]Mena'hot 35b. He fled the besieged city of Jerusalem and obtained from Vespasian the right to found the first Yeshiva in Yavne; see Neusner, *A Life of Rabbi Yohanan ben Zaccai*, Leiden,1970.

[33]Galit. 4:22. Jerome lived between 342 and 420. He settled in Bethlehem in 386 where he studied Hebrew and translated the Bible from the original into Latin.

[34]Y. Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran*, Jerusalem, 1969. See also A.M. Habermann, "The phylacteries in Antiquity," *Eretz Israel* 3, (1954) p. 174ff. (Hebrew).

characters, it seems that the Christian artists saw things differently. Fifteen years ago, in an article which constituted a preliminary study of the subject, I drew attention to the existence of *tefillin* in early Byzantine works.[35] The list of Byzantine examples which have come to my notice has grown considerably since then, and is today a proof of the recurrence, in Byzantine art, of a detail integral to Jewish life.

Here one finds an extremely interesting phenomenon of iconographical survival. Byzantine art preserved (as we shall see) a detail of the external appearance of the Jew of the first centuries of our era, existing at least until the fourth century. It was a significant detail, and one which was revealing, at least for someone outside the community, as the "sign" of an identity (but not of an identification by an outside, perhaps hostile, world), an identity which merged with a profession of faith. How striking the Jew-in-the-street must have looked, his forehead bound with leather thongs which ended in a totally closed and undecorated square box, and his left arm surrounded with circles formed by these same thongs wrapped around it from the elbows to the fingers in such a way as to form the first letter of one of the names of the Ineffable God.

We find the visual echo of the *tefillin* in Byzantine art at a period when the Jews had long given up wearing their *tefillin* in public. This renunciation was no doubt due to the adverse atmosphere of the early Middle Ages. The Jews wished to avoid attracting attention, for it was as Jerome said, an invariably hostile attention which was directed against the Jewish community by a triumphant Christianity, whether that of the imperial government or that of the Church. If one reflects on the imperial laws or the writings of the Church Fathers, one can understand the necessity for such a decision on the part of the Jews. The *tefillin* were now only the reminder of Israel's indestructible faith, in its daily dialogue with the Creator. In the street, out of fear for the lives of the members of their community and also out of fear of

[35]For my article, see note 16. Later in the eighteenth century, Rabbi Yonathan Eybeschutz of Altona, and in the nineteenth century, the Gaon of Vilna, continued to wear the *tefillin* the whole day.

a profanation,[36] the rabbis advised people to desist from wearing them in public, while some scholars and outstanding leaders still retained the practice.

Byzantine art revived this sign of identity—voluntary, non-imposed, a symbol of pride and faith and not a sign of infamy—of the Jew of the biblical and Talmudic periods. Paintings, manuscripts and icons represented *tefillin* at various times when we know they were no longer worn in public and thus no longer constituted a detail of the Jew's external appearance. A reflection of an earlier period by means of iconographical copying, the visual history of the *tefillin* in Byzantium can contribute not only to the reconstitution of the image of the Jew, to a determination of Byzantium's relationship to its Jewish communities, but also to a clearer understanding of the mechanism of iconographical models and prototypes in Byzantine art.

It is difficult to compile a chronological list of the Byzantine works in which *tefillin* appear. It seems that this phenomenon must have originated in about the sixth century, so rich in iconographical innovation, although no existing work of that period contains that detail.[37] However, the manuscripts of the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas and the Octateuchs place *tefillin* on the heads of some of the characters represented—Moses, Aaron and the High Priest, *the Cohen Ha-gadol.* The oldest existing miniatures showing *tefillin* are the full page of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus of the beginning of the eighth century, and the miniature of Alexander's entry into Jerusalem in the ninth-century Sacra Parallela. Evidence of an old tradition to which the models of the *Christian Topography* and the Octateuchs no doubt belong, they represent an iconographical prototype which spread farther afield in the twelfth century with the homilies of Jacob Kokkinobaphos and the illuminated manuscripts of the Gospels and Psalters, and from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

[36]Because of the text enclosed in the boxes which is handwritten with the same impeccable precision as the *Sifre Torah*, the *tefillin* are treated with the utmost respect.

[37]There are no figures wearing *tefillin* in the Vienna Genesis (see note 21) nor in the Codex Rossanensis (A. Munoz, *Il Codice Purpureo di Rossano*, Facsimile ed. Rome, 1907) or the Codex Sinopensis (A. Grabar, *Les peintures de l'Evangeliaire de Sinope*, Paris, 1948).

extends to icons and Mariological cycles. This formula is then detached from its original context (the texts and characters of the Old Testament) and is applied to characters and events in the New Testament, or to scenes of apocryphal cycles like the presentation of Mary in the Temple. In addition to this list, there are two works concerning whose dates opinions once again differ: the paintings of Castelseprio and the newly-discovered mosaics of Kalenderhane Djami.[38]

The best-known of all these representations is undoubtedly the miniature of the Codex Amiatinus,[39] with which we go back to the early Latin world. This much-studied manuscript is especially original, and the double-page illustration of the Tabernacle, which is completely true to the biblical text, poses the problem of the manuscript's relationship with Jewish sources.[40] Although much has been written about the miniature of Ezra, its details

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[38]The discussion on the date of Castelseprio has not yet reached final agreement. See K. Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle of Sta Maria of Castelseprio*, Princeton, 1951 and, for a recent bibliography, P.D. Leveto, *Castelseprio: Architecture and Painting*, (Diss.) Indiana Univ, 1985.

[39]Florence Bibl. Laur. Amiatinus 1. The manuscript was copied at Yearmouth, at the beginning of the eighth century on a supposed model written by Cassiodorus in the sixth century. A. Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen bis zum Ausgang der Romanischen Zeit*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930, p. 106; P. Bloch, "Nachwirkungen des Alten Bundes in der christlichen Kunst" in *Monumenta Judaica*, Cologne, 1963, p. 755ff. and "Das Apsismosaik von Germigny des Prés, Karl der Grosse und der Alte Bund," in *Karl der Grosse, Karolingische Kunst*, Düsseldorf, 1966, pp. 243–61; H. Blum, "Uber den Codex Amiatinus und Cassiodores Bibliothek," *Zeit. für Bibliothekwese* 54 (1964), pp. 52–57; T.D. Kendrick, *Codex Lindisfarnensis*, Olten and Lausanne 1960, pp. 49–58 and 142–49; D.H. Wright, "The Oncial" *Traditio* **17**, (1961), pp. 441–56; G.K. Werckmeister, *Irish Northumbrian Buchmalerei*, Berlin, 1967; P. Fisch, "Codex Amiatinus Cassiodorensis" in *Biblische Zeitschrift* 1962, pp. 57–79; R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, "The Art of Cassiodorus," in *Journal of the Archeological Association*, IIIrd. **32**, (1963); A. Perucci, "L'Onciale" *Studi Medievali* (1971), pp. 75–134; P.J. Nordhagen, "An Italo-Byzantine Painter at the Scriptorium of Ceolfrith" in *Studia Romana in honorem Petri Krarup*, Odense, 1976; H. Strauss, "Schiksal und Form der Tempelleuchter der Hasmonäen Könige," *Das Münster am Hellweg, Mitteilungsblatt der Vereins für Einhaltung des Essener Münsters* **15** (1962), pp. 43–62; C. Roth, "Jewish Antecedents of Christian Art," *JWCI* **XVI** (1953), pp. 24–44.

[40]Cassiodorus says that he has been deeply influenced by Josephus' writings and particularly by his depiction of the Tabernacle. E. Revel-Neher, "La double page du Codex Amiatinus et ses rapport avec les plans du Tabernacle dans l'art juif et dans l'art byzantin," *JJA* **9**, pp. 6–17.

have not always been understood, and it requires close examination if one is to grasp its typological significance.[41] Each detail has its importance, each element in the composition has its value. Ezra's costume (Pl. V) is particularly significant: he is dressed in a long, almost transparent tunic which reveals his legs underneath the material, and which ends in a fringe of little bells. Above this is a short, sleeveless mantle, allowing the sleeves of the tunic to appear. On his chest, there is a metal tablet ornamented with gems—the *ephod*, which, like the bells, is one of the elements of the costume of the High Priest in the Tabernacle and the Temple.[42] He has a halo, he is bearded and he has long hair. A thin strap holds his hair together and falls behind his neck; it broadens over his forehead and there is a small cube beneath his hair like a bulge. Though seldom recognized as such, this little cube is the *tefilla shel rosh*, the frontlet phylactery worn on the forehead.[43] Ezra, dressed here as a High Priest, had a special place in biblical history: the architect of the Return, of the reconstruction, he was also the person who reorganized the reading of the sacred texts after the Exile.[44] His role as a unifier and a faithful expositor was compared by the miniaturist to that of the evangelists writing with prophetic inspiration. It has been noticed that the number of books contained in the open cupboard behind him is an indication of his role: he joins and connects the Old and New Testaments.[45] In addition to his traditional place in the Bible, Ezra, in the Codex Amiatinus, is given a typological part of the first importance. Is that why the miniaturist has dressed him, in all details, as the High Priest? A more likely explanation would

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[41]MS Florence Bibl. Laur. Amiatinus I c.v. For a bibliography, see E. Revel-Neher, *Le Signe de la Rencontre*, p. 88.

[42]M. Levin, *Mele'het ha Michkan*, Jerusalem, 1971, pp. 124–41. Exodus 28–29.

[43]K. Weitzmann *Spätantike und Früchristliche Buchmalerei*, says on p. 126 "das Talit auf dem Kopf." C. Roth, "Jewish Antecedents of Christian Art," *JWCI* 16 (1953), pp. 24–44, already identified, although with many hesitations, the *tefillin* in the miniature.

[44]But he was, if not a high priest, a *cohen*, a simple priest and a scribe, as stated in Ezra 7:12. The titulus of the miniature reads: "Codicibus sacris hostilis clade perustis Esdra Do ferveus hoc reparavit opus." See my book *Le Signe de la Rencontre*, p. 191.

[45]Five books, and four more are on the shelves of the cupboard. There are also crosses decorating the wooden frames. These can be interpreted as the Pentateuch and the Gospels

appear to be that the model for the miniature was a representation of the High Priest, taken, no doubt, from the same original as the double page of the Tabernacle, and, in a similar manner, added to in such a way as to provide it with a Christian typological symbolism.[46] The *tefillin*, here, took the place of the High Priest's headdress, the miter-*miznefet* which gave way to them. In this case, as in other examples, this was no doubt the proof that the *tefillin* were drawn without the artist understanding what they were. There is no reason why the artist should not have drawn both if he was seeking to represent the headdress of the High Priest, but here, on the contrary, what he was representing was a detail of the "Jewish" headdress as it was seen in public in the first centuries of our era. The lapse of time between the model and this very late copy precluded the miniature from having any connection with the reality of the time.

The miniature of the Sacra Parallela is also very original in its theme, and it belongs to that part of the manuscript which constitutes the oldest representation of the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus Flavius.[47] Folio 192 v. (Fig. 12) represents Alexander's entry into Jerusalem.[48] In accordance with the principles of marginal illustration, the miniature extends both upwards—revealing an architecture with doors, windows, oculi and cupolas representing Jerusalem—and outwards, although this consists only of three characters: Alexander, in the center, followed by his general and preceded by the High Priest Janneus, already entering the high-arched gateway. Janneus has long hair and a long beard, and is wearing a small red cap inscribed with a delicate golden decoration in the form of a quatrefoil: "Only the headdress, meant to be the red-coloured mitre with the golden plate on it on which is inscribed the name of God, marks him as the bearer of the highest priestly office". Weitzmann[49] believes that

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[46]The cross on the "introitus" of the double page signs the miniature which has no human figuration. The titulus "Moses and Aaron" in the middle of a blank space may have announced a figurative representation. Could these even have been figures wearing *tefillin*? No definitive answer can yet be given.

[47]Paris BN Gr. 923. K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela: Parisinus Graecus* 923, Princeton, 1979.

[48]Ant. Jud. **XI**.8.5.

[49]K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela*, p. 246.

Janneus's headdress is the High Priest's mitre. Would it represent the *teffilin*, as in the Amiatinus? This time the character is depicted in accordance with his function, and this would also explain his headdress. Other representations of High Priests will serve to clarify this question further.

Our first mention of the phenomenon of the *tefillin* was in connection with two miniatures of the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas, Vatican Gr. 699, which we shall return to now.[50] First, the miniature showing the Ark of the Covenant, in folio 48 (Pl. VI): this very simple rendering shows two haloed figures next to an Ark of semi-hemispherical shape surmounted by *cherubim* (tetramorphic figures with eyes on their wings, as the result of a very common confusion of this theme with the texts of Isaiah and Ezekiel). One of the figures is young, with a short brown beard and black hair: the other is old, with a long white beard and white hair.

The inscription next to them, which describes them as Zacharias and Abias is probably of a later date than the miniature, as is often the case in this manuscript,[51] and was the outcome of an erroneous association of the figures with a digression in the text surrounding the image.[52] In fact, the younger man is Moses and the older one is Aaron. Both are dressed identically in a long tunic and a mantle which is draped on the shoulder. In the halo of each of them, there on the top of the head, a little cube can be clearly seen, one side of which is shaded and whose face has a dot in the center. A green thong falls onto their hair. In folio 76 r. of the same manuscript, next to John the Baptist and Elizabeth (Pl.

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[50]Three manuscripts exist: The Vat. Gr. 699, from the ninth century, the Sin. Gr. 1186 and the Laur. Plut. IX. 28 from the eleventh century; J.W. McCrindle, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk*, London, 1897; J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus, des Kosmas Indikopleustes und Oktateuch, nach Handschriften der Bibliothek zu Smyrna* (*Byzantinischer Archiv*, 2), Leipzig, 1899; C. Stornajolo, *Le Miniature della Topografia Christiana di Cosma Indicopleuste*, Codice Vaticano Greco (Codices Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi, vol. X), Milan, 1908; W. Wolska, *Recherches sur la Topographie Chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleutes: Theologie et Science au VIème siècle*, Paris, 1962; W. Wolska-Conus, *Cosmas Indicopleustes, Topographie Chrétienne*, Paris 1973.

[51] See W. Wolska-Conus, op. cit. I pp. 127–134.

[52]W. Wolska-Conus, I, pp. 66–67, and II, p. 66, including n. 37. Cosmas, Book V, p. 37. See also Luke 1:5–23.

VII), recognizable by their attributes, one finds the High Priest Zacharias, the husband of Elizabeth and the father of John the Baptist. He is mentioned as a priest of the Temple (but not as a High Priest) in the first chapter of the Gospel of Luke. He is dressed like the figures in the preceding miniature and carries a censer and a incense-box. One sees the same cubic box silhouetted against his halo as in the illustrations of Moses and Aaron. Here, too, it is shaded on one side and has a dot in the center. In this case, however, there is no thong underneath the *tefillin*. Folio 50 shows Aaron alone, standing and wearing the priestly vestments. In his hand, he holds a censer. On his head he wears the square *tefillin*, beneath which there is a green and gold thong. A careful scrutiny of the miniature reveals that it is indeed a strip of leather and not a headdress reminiscent of the miter-*miznefet*, for Aaron's hair appears beneath the thong. In folio 52 r., one sees the tribes encamped around the Tabernacle, with Moses and Aaron clearly distinguished from the mass. Neither of them, however, wears a *tefillin*: their heads are bare.

The examples of *tefillin* thus taken from the Vatican Cosmas are also to be found in the same scenes in the Sinai manuscript of Cosmas,[53] with identical details. In both manuscripts, they appear only in the scenes of the Pentateuch and not in those of the Book of Joshua; the same figures are similarly represented without *tefillin* in the scenes depicting the tribes gathered around the Tabernacle.[54] Nothing, however, in the very explicit and indicative text of Cosmas alludes to this iconographical detail. In the description of Aaron's costume in the text, Cosmas confines himself to repeating the indications in the Bible (Fig. 13).[55] No allusion is made to *tefillin*. The exactitude of the visual representation, on the other hand, is surprising: the form and shape of the boxes, the dot on their face, the straps gathered around the head—everything suggests that these miniatures drew upon a model where the *tefillin* were fully understood. A comparison

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[53]Sin. Gr. 1186, eleventh century (Wolska-Conus, op. cit. **11**, p. 47).

[54]Vat. Gr. 699, Folio 52 r. See my book *Le Signe de la Rencontre*, p. 181.

[55]Book 5, para. 45–48 "Sur le front, le prêtre portait une mitre, et sur la mitre un (galon) bleu, en guise de bordure, avec un diademe d'or ou était gravé le sceau de consécration au Seigneur, c'est-à-dire ce qu'on appelle le tétragramme; ainsi vêtu, le prêtre entrait dans le sanctuaire." Folio 84, Sin Gr. 1186.

with the *tefillin* found at Qumran[56] and the Jewish representations (later, of course, but nevertheless belonging to a world in which *tefillin* were part of daily religious life)[57] can only confirm even more the extraordinary phenomenon of iconographical transmission to which these miniatures bear witness.

The same iconographical prototypes are to be found in the Octateuchs: those of the Vatican as well as that of the Seraglio.[58] In the *tefillin* in the Octateuchs, there are changes and variations in form which make them partially different from those in the miniatures of *Christian Topography*. In Vat. Gr. 747, Folio 106 r. (Fig. 14), Moses and Aaron, standing on either side of the Ark, are depicted wearing crowns formed of two rows of pearls from which emerge small round protuberances. The same scene in Gr. 746, Folio 231, shows Moses and Aaron without *tefillin*. In Folio 234 v. of the Seraglio Octateuch, they have a very small gold-colored cube on their heads, slightly rounded on top.

In Vat. Gr. 746, Folio 283 r. and 342 v., Aaron appears twice more with a much-diminished *tefillin*, while Moses is not wearing

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[56]See above, note 34.

[57]See Fig 60–5.

[58]C. Roth, "Jewish Antecedents of Christian Art," *JWCI* **XVI** (1953), pp. 24–44; K. Weitzmann, "Die Illustration der Septuaginta," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1952–53, pp. 96–120; idem *Zur Frage des Einflusses jüdischer Bilderquellen auf die Illustration des Alten Testamentes*, in *Mullus, Festschrift Th. Klauser*, Münster 1954, pp. 401–15; C.O. Nordstrom, "Some Jewish Legends in Byzantine Art," *Byzantion* 1955–57, p. 487ff.; "Rabbinica in früchristlichen und byzantinischen Illustrationen zum IV Buch Moses," in *Figura N.S.I. Acta Universita Uppsalensis*, Uppsala, 1959; idem "Rabbinic Features in Byzantine and Catalan Art," *CA* **XV**, pp. 179–205; J. Gutmann, "The Jewish Origin of the Ashburnham Pentateuch Miniatures" *JQR* XLIV (1953–54), pp. 55–72; idem "The Haggadic Motif in Jewish Iconography," in *Eretz-Israel* **VI** (1960), pp. 16–22; "The Illustrated Jewish Manuscript in the Antiquity: The Present State of the Question," *Gesta*, 1966, pp. 39–41; "Joseph Legends in the Vienna Genesis," in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Jerusalem, 1973, t. **IV**, pp. 181–84; and also: E. Revel, "Le Rapport du texte à l'image dans les Genèses enluminées de haute époque," Strasburg, 1972; "Contribution des textes rabbiniques à l'étude de la Genèse de Vienne," *Byzantion* XLII (1972), pp. 116–30; "L'Iconographie judéo-chrétienne en milieu byzantin, une source de connaissance pour l'histoire du monde juif à l'époque pré-chrétienne et talmudique," in *Mélanges André Neher*, Paris, 1975, pp. 308–316. The question of a model common to the Octateuchs and an archetype related to a Jewish manuscript around the sixth century is still not solved. The presence of the *tefillin* in the Octateuchs as well as in *Christian Topography* may be a key to the puzzle.

any (Figs. 15–16). On Folio 241 r., Aaron approaches an altar on which there is a book. On his head is a gold-colored cube standing on folds of red fabric or leather, and decorated with three blue dots (Fig. 17). The same gold-colored cube also appears in the Seraglio Octateuch.

Finally, Folio 242 v. of Vat. Gr. 746 (Pl. VIII) shows Moses standing in front of the Tabernacle, investing Aaron and his sons with their sacred priestly function. They are dressed exactly like Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus, down to the bells at the bottom of their short mantles. On their heads, a large and very visible cube rests on a little cap made of fabric adorned with pearls in four places. Moses is dressed differently, in a long tunic and chlamys, and his head is bare. The same folio in the Seraglio Octateuch shows the three priests wearing small gold-colored cubes.

One can thus perceive the existence of different prototypes, which seem to be connected with the increasing remoteness of the representations from the subject. The motif of *tefillin* worn by Jews is closest to the original model in the miniatures of the Seraglio Octateuch and in Vat. Gr. 746, where decorative points are sometimes added. The latest interpretation, the farthest from the original motif, is that of 747, which shows a crown surmounted by a protuberance. In the Octateuchs, the *tefillin* are worn by a High Priest or by the priestly sons of Aaron. They are not worn by other personalities, previous to, contemporary with or subsequent to Moses and Aaron. One is thus tempted to suppose that the miniatures bear witness to a development from pictorial representations of *tefillin* to an attempt to reconstruct the headdress of the priests-*cohanim* as described in the biblical text. Thus, *tsits* and a miter-*miznefet* are added to the representation of a detail which seems to be part of the special Jewish identity, and on which are superimposed a crown, a piece of fabric or a pearl.

These manifestations take place in the later development of the theme of *tefillin*, and their diversity in relation to the Jewish sources enables us to resituate the archetypes of the manuscripts in time. Copies may show possible unfaithfulness which explain some blanks in the iconographical transmission. Later the motif may reappear in a more authentic form due to a "good" source.

The iconography of the Bible of Queen Christina[59] reflects the increasing distance of the interpretation from its origins. The frontispiece of Leviticus in Folio 85 v. represents, as the text beneath the frame of the miniature says, "Moses and Aaron with the Levites carrying the ark of the Covenant of the Lord."[60] Aaron, wearing a halo, heads the procession of the Ark: he holds a censer and an incense-box. On his forehead one sees a large protuberance, a red spot of an indefinite form. This is a very distant copy of the real *tefillin*, a sort of vague compromise between the two parts of the High Priest's headdress, based on copies which the artist clearly did not fully comprehend (Fig. 18).

Tefillin can also be found in other manuscripts, in Old Testament scenes represented with a typological purpose. In the manuscripts of the Homilies of Jakob Kokkinobaphos (Fig. 19) a whole page is the frontispiece to the Homily for the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin.[61] The upper part of the miniature represents the Ark within the tabernacle: the latter is a tent surmounted by a cross, in which the Ark resembles a transparent casket. Below, one sees Aaron chosen by means of the flowering rod.[62] These two scenes have a typological significance which connects them to Marian iconography: from the first century, the Ark and the flowering rod were regarded as types of Mary in

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[59]Rome Vat. Reg. Gr. 1. A facsimile edition is being prepared by the Vatican Library in which S. Dufrenne offers new insights on the iconography *Miniature della bibbia Cod. Vat. Regin. Greco* 1 *e del Salterio Cod. Vat. Palat. Greco* 381; *Collezione Paleografica Vaticana*, Milan, 1905, fasc. 1; K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des* 9 *und* 10 *Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935; pp. 40–42,Pl. XLVI–XLVII; T.F. Mathews, "The Epigrams of Leo Sacellarios and an Exegetical Approch to the Miniatures of Vat. Reg. Gr. I," *Orientalia Christina Periodica* **43** (1977), pp. 94–133. Regarding folio 85, see pp. 102–11.

[60]E. Revel-Neher, *Le Signe de la Rencontre*, p. 170; for the difficulties of interpretation, see S. Dufrenne in the facsimile edition (forthcoming).

[61]Folio 181 v., Paris BN Gr. 1208 and folio 133 v., Rome Vat. Gr. 1162. C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco* (*Cod. Vat. Gr.* 1162), Rome, 1910; H. Omont, *Miniatures des Homélies du moine Jacques sur la Vierge*, Paris, 1927; J. LaFontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge à Byzance et en Occident*, Brussels 1964–65, I, pp. 42–43. The very important study of I. Hutter was never published (University of Vienna).

[62]Numbers **17**:16–26.

patristic literature and in liturgy.[63] The choice of Aaron through the fertility of the rod which he placed in the Tabernacle is the archetype of the choice of Joseph as the husband of Mary.[64] If, in this scene, the protagonists belong to the world of the Old Testament, they are represented with the purpose of providing symbolic allusions to the New Testament and to Marian iconography. Aaron, who heads the group of protagonists opposite Moses, wears red and slightly rounded *tefillin*, resting on a narrow strip of material, in the front part of his forehead. The same *tefillin* appear on the forehead of the High Priest in various scenes of the childhood of Mary in the same manuscripts. Folio 46 v. and 186 r. of Vat. Gr. 1162 are examples of this (Figs. 20–21).

This typological transfer can be found again in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The representations of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple show the High Priest of apocryphal Marian literature[65] with the costume and headdress given to the biblical priests, including the *tefillin*. In a lectionary from Mt Athos,[66] for instance, the High Priest who receives Mary is shown with a very simple blue square resting directly on his hair, and in the Annunciation to Zacharias on Folio 243 of the same manuscript, Zacharias is wearing the *tefillin*.

As the motif receded in time from its iconographical origins, its precision diminished and its exactitude was lost. It is obvious that the artist had lost all contact with the model, reproduced in copies and copied endlessly without any longer being understood. All that remained was a vague memory of the formal prototype. In the fourteenth century, in the great Mariological cycles, where it appears on the head of the High Priest receiving Mary in the Temple, it is no more than a little cap with a round protuberance.

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[63]E. Revel-Neher, *Le Signe de la Rencontre*, pp. 50–67, passim, and my article to appear in Sofia in *Mélanges Ivan Dujčev*, "Le baton d'Aaron: eschatologie juive et typologie chrétienne."

[64]J. LaFontaine-Dosogne, op. cit., 167–68 for the textual sources and pp. 169–79 for the iconography.

[65]J. LaFontaine-Dosogne, op. cit., pp. 136–37 and 138–67 and Fig. 80 (Menologion of Basil II), Fig. 88 (Nereditsa), Fig. 89 (Studenitsa) and Fig. 92 (Mistra, Peribleptos).

[66]Athos Panteleimon Cod. 21, Fol. 202 v. twelfth century. S.P. Pelekanidis, P.C. Christou, Ch. Tsioumis, S.K. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts*, Athens, I (1974), 1975 (vol. II), pp. 347–51 and Fig. 281.

Numerous examples have already been given. If one had not traced its origins, the little rounded hat on the head of the High Priest in the mosaics at the Karje Djami (Fig. 22) in Constantinople[67] and in the painting of the Brontochion and the Peribleptos at Mistra[68] (Fig. 23) as well as at Decani[69] (Fig. 24) would be unrecognizable.

One finds a similar confusion in some Psalters. The Serbian Psalter, Folio 204,[70] shows the priests wearing on their heads a small piece of white pleated material surmounted by a large red dot (Fig. 25). On the head of Zacharias writing in Folio 492 of the Moscow Psalter,[71] one sees a string of pearls surrounding a draped cone.

Every kind of fantasy exists, ultimately derived from the same formal archetypes and sometimes reverting to them, and one hardly knows through what process of return. One of the most striking examples is the icon of the Presentation of the Virgin at Ochrid,[72] showing the High Priest wearing marvellous *tefillin* resting on a narrow strip of fabric—square unornamented *tefillin* in accordance with the purest and most ancient traditions. The

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[67]P.A. Underwood (ed.), *The Kariye Djami. Studies in the Art of the Karije Djami and its Intellectual Background*, Princeton, 1975, Pl. 204; and E. Revel-Neher, "Problèmes d'iconographie judéo-chrétienne: le thème de la coiffure du Cohen Gadol dans l'art byzantin," *JJA* **I**, pp. 50–65, Fig. 14.

[68]G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIVème et XVIeme siècles d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du mont Athos* (Bibl. des Ecoles Francaise d'Athènes et de Rome, Facs. 109), Paris, 1916; S. Dufrenne, *Les Programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra*, Paris, 1970 and my article (see n. 67), Fig. 15. D.T. Rice, *Byzantine Painting, the Last Phase*, New York, 1968, p. 177ff., Fig. 154.

[69]V.R. Petkovic and G. Boskovic, *Dečani*, Belgrade, 1941. See also my doct. dissertation: *L'Arche d'Alliance: Iconographie et interprétations dans l'art juif, paleochrétien et byzantin du Ilème au XVème siècle*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1980, p. 170 for research beginning on the subject, and my article (see n. 67), Fig. 16.

[70]H. Belting (ed.), S. Dufrenne, S. Radojcić, R. Stichel, I. Ševčenko, *Der Serbiche Psalter* (Faksimile. Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 des Bayerischen Staatbibl.), Munich and Wiesbaden, 1978.

[71]G.I.M. Gr. 407. A. Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalter in Byzantium* (Bibl. des C.A.), Paris, 1984, Fig. 198. For the *tefillin* on the head of the high priest in Mariological cycles, see also E. Revel-Neher, *L'Arche d'Alliance*, pp. 170–75.

[72]G. Babič, *Icones*, Paris, 1980, p. 28. Ochrid, St Clement, Icons Gallery, end of the fourteenth century. Painted on the back of the big icon of the Virgin Peribleptos.

icon dates from the fourteenth century (Fig. 26). Why did this resurgence take place? Did it represent a real comprehension of the subject or simply a more faithful, better-documented copy? We are unable to hazard an explanation.

From the tenth century onwards, the motif of *tefillin* moved on to other characters, thus finding yet another use, not always directly related to its sources. We have already drawn attention to the enormous *tefillin*—almost square crowns—on the heads of the Magi in the Menologue of Basil II[73] (Fig. 27). An eleventh-century menology at Mt Athos[74] shows, in Folio 404 r., the Magi before Herod, dressed in short chitons, mantles and trousers: on their heads are large *tefillin* which are not resting on any fabric nor attached to anything. The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus from Mt Athos[75] or from the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem (Fig. 28) show Chaldean astrologers or Magi with tiaras, slanting little isolated rectangles on their foreheads. A lectionary from Mt Athos and of the same period[76] shows the same tiara on the head of the High Priest in the scene of the Presentation of Mary in the Temple. It is a blue square object resting directly on his hair, and ones sees this also on the head of Zacharias in Folio 243 r. in the same manuscript. Here, also—and no less in the case of the Chaldeans than here with Zacharias—the artist has depicted *tefillin*. Another example (they can be multiplied indefinitely) can be found in the romance of Alexander the Great.[77] In Folio 92 v., the priests of Judea are shown offering Alexander gold and silver; on their heads, resting on a piece of fabric, are square *tefillin*. In Folio 140 r., however, showing Alexander's visit to the shrine of Apollo, the priests—pagans, this time—wear the same *tefillin*.

In order to trace the iconographical history of *tefillin* in Byzantine art, one would need a complete catalogue of all existing examples. A formal motif of such complexity demands an

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[73]Rome Bibl. Vat. Gr. 1613 fol. 133—V. Lazarev, *Storia della Piturra Byzantina*, Turin, 1967, p. 140, Fig. 126.

[74]Athos Esphigmenou Cod. 14—Pelekanidis, op. cit. Fig. 381.

[75]Athos Panteleimon Cod. 6, twelfth century, fol. 165 r.—Pelekanidis, op. cit., Fig. 302.

[76]Athos Panteleimon Cod. 2—Pelekanidis, op. cit. Fig. 281.

[77]A. Xyngopoulos, *Les Miniatures du Roman d'Alexandre le Grand dans le manuscrit de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise*, Athens and Venice 1965.

examination both of its sources and of contemporary influences, and requires additional studies.[78] A chronological classification of examples lies beyond the scope of this essay, but such an enterprise would undoubtedly throw light on the process of iconographical transmission in Byzantium. What we intended to do here should at least provide a starting point for an exhaustive corpus.

In order to make a final contribution to this future enterprise, we shall now briefly analyze two examples of uncertain date. Whether one ascribes them to the tenth century or to the seventh or eighth, the frescos of Castelseprio constitute a phenomenon in themselves and one which continues to fascinate[79] (Pl. IX). The scene showing the High Priest giving Mary bitter water to drink is one of those in the cycle which exhibit the most grandeur and sense of drama, and on the head of the High Priest, resting on his long hair, there is a very large brown cube, entirely unadorned and unsupported by any fabric. Moreover, it is attached to two delicate brown straps which come together in his hair, towards the nape of his neck. The old man might just have put his *tefillin* on in the moment before his morning prayers, and the effect is strikingly true-to-life. The work which is closest to this fresco is undoubtedly the miniature of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus, where the straps are also visible in his hair. Even if one does not consider any other factor apart from the *tefillin*, this could constitute one more proof of the connection of Castelseprio with the sixth century, when the motif originated.

A most exceptional case is that of the mosaic panel of Kalenderhane Djami at Istanbul, probably from the seventh century[80]

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[78]See also the Chludov Psalter, fol. 115 and 163 v. showing Melchisedech and Zacharias with heavy cubes on their heads. And the Psalter Pant. Gr. 20 with nearly the same detail as part of the depiction of Melchisedech: S. Dufrenne, *L'Illustration des Psautiers grecs, du Moyen-Age I.* (*Pantocrator* 61, *Paris grec* 20, *British Museum* (*Add.*) 40731), Paris, 1966, Pl. 25–41. Even after the publication of my article fifteen years ago, there are still references to miters, tiaras or caps.

[79]See note 38.

[80]C.I. Striker and Y.D. Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istambul; Third and Fourth Preliminary Reports," *DOP* **25** (1971), pp. 251–58, Fig. 11 and 29; (1975), pp. 312–13, Fig. 10. E. Kitzinger, "Christian Imagery: Growth and Impact in K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality, A Symposium*, New York, 1980, p. 155, Fig. 19.

(Fig. 29). The scene represents the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, with Mary and the child on one side and Simeon holding out his veiled hands on the other, without any architectural details. Simeon wears the same *tefillin* as the High Priest at Castelseprio, as far as one can judge from the present state of the mosaic, from which tesserae are missing. This is the only example, as far as we know, of Simeon, who was not a High Priest—but who evidently plays this role in the panel, even without a specific textual indication—being shown wearing *tefillin*.

The figurations which go back to the sixth century, through successive copies, may very well be the key to this iconographical motif: the *Christian Topography* (Cosmas lived and wrote his book between 547 and 549), the Codex Amiatinus (whose model, the Codex Grandior, was written by Cassiodorus at the end of the sixth century), the Castelseprio frescoes and the Kalenderhane Djami (from the seventh and eighth centuries but based on a more ancient model, and probably the Octateuchs and their hypothetical models). Do these works of art reflect the appearance of the Jew-in-the-street in the Byzantine world of the sixth century? Or do they express a wish to distinguish, by these means, the leader of the spiritual community from other "common" people? In that case, a High Priest or priests could be considered as such leaders and they would be set apart by the distinctive sign of the Jewish prayer. Should one see here a proof that, at the time of the model, only top-ranking persons (scholars, rabbis, *tanaim*) were still wearing *tefillin* in the street, as an everyday sign? Altogether, this may explain the visual translation of the equation High Priest—spiritual leader and the transformation of the *tefillin* into the miter-*miznefet*.[81] This hypothesis takes into account the problems of the translation of "reality" in Byzantine art in which there is no real search for an exact physical representation or realism. A power of observation is not the main tool of the Byzantine artist; more apparent is his desire to suggest spiritual realities as presented to him by theological instructions and guide-books, based on the use and re-use of ancient models.

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[81]It is possible that the *tefillin* were given to the Magi represented as Oriental princes. See also the Babylonians in the Sin. Gr. 1186 fol. 30 v., 31 r., 171 r. and 174 v.

It is important to remark that the *tefillin*, however, were always given to single individuals, priests, high priests or those seen as such, that is determined by their function, and never given to a group. With the *tallit*, the Jew's garment, the opposite phenomenon took place. Unlike the *tefillin*, it is essentially characteristic of groups of Jews. In the sixth century, as we have seen, the *tallit* merged with the classical type of garment. It had narrow, dark-colored horizontal stripes and gammadia. It was used as a costume for characters of all kinds who, it should be remembered, were Jews, at least with regard to their origins, and who included both prophets and apostles: Moses and Elijah, but also Peter, John and James in the apse of St Catherine, the apostles in the mosaic of St Pudenziana, the martyrs and prophets of San Appollinare Nuovo, and the crowd in the Entry into Jerusalem and Judgment of Jesus in the Codex Rossanensis.[82] Here, one already sees a detail which was at this time a novelty and which in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art was associated with the Jewish identity of the group: the covered head.

Folio 1 r. of the Codex Rossanensis is one of the oldest examples.[83] The raising of Lazarus (Fig. 30) is accompanied, on the lower level, by authors of citations from the Old Testament related to the text of the Gospel: David and Hosea, David with Jesse. The king-prophet is dressed as an emperor with a crown, and the two prophets, bareheaded, wear a garment with *clavi* similar to a *tallit*. The novelty, here, is to be found in the group of witnesses of the miracle in the upper register: between Jesus and Lazarus's grotto or sepulchre there is a compact group of figures, diversified only by their being bearded or beardless. Two of them, with delicate black beards, have their heads covered with a piece of fabric which hangs over their faces forming a cowl. This is a new phenomenon among the ocean of bareheaded figures, and it is one which is very different from that of *tefillin* because it is

[82]A. Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian*, op. cit. Fig. 232.

[83]K. Weitzmann, *Spätantike und Früchristliche Buchmalerei*, Munich, 1977, Fig. 29. It is important to note that, if covered heads appear already but irregularly in the sixth century, this detail does not exist in the paintings of the Doura synagogue, nor do the *tefillin*. But see below for Jewish medieval iconography.

connected only with unidentified characters indistinguishable from the mass.

The Talmud[84] required the Jews always to cover their head as a sign of respect for the Creator (this precept was not of biblical origin, and, thus is not found at Dura). From the sixth century onwards, the Jewish obligation to cover the head made its appearance in the art of Byzantium. This, too, belonged to an image of the Jew derived from the reality of his daily spiritual life and his observation of the Law.

In post-iconoclastic art, examples are numerous.[85] At Daphni, the mosaic depicting the Entry into Jerusalem and the same scene in the Palatina Chapel at Palermo in Sicily (Fig. 31) show groups of inhabitants of the city with their heads covered with pieces of striped fabric. Here, the connection with the *tallit* is much clearer, as the stripes one sees on the garments also appear on the pieces of *tallit* covering the head.[86] Folio 41 of the Paris Gospel B.N. Gr 74 shows the same scene:[87] before the walls of the closed city, a group carries palm branches. The brightly-colored tunics and the mantles no longer have anything in common with the *tallit*, but the bearded faces are framed by blue, red and white cowls (Fig. 32). These are different from those at Daphni, as they have no stripes and they are not attached to the mantles. Further away from the *tallit*, they nevertheless reflect the phenomenon of

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[84]The covering of the head is not a biblical prescription but may have started during the Babylonian Exile and been adopted first by Oriental Jews. It is an expression of the respectful fear of God, as opposed to the Christian habit of praying bareheaded. Nid. 30b, Sof. 14–15, Kid. 31a. See S. Krauss, "The Jewish Rite of Head Covering during the Talmudic Age" in J. Gutmann (ed.) *Beauty in Holiness*, New York, 1970, pp. 433–66. The skullcap, "*kippa*", of the modern Jew is a result of this custom. The *Judenhut* worn by German Jews during the Middle Ages may have been originally headgear worn voluntarily by the Jews to fulfill the rabbinical prescription. See Fig. 72.

[85]But in the ninth century the figures of the Sacra Parallela never have their heads covered by a piece of fabric. There are, though, crowns, tiaras and caps which may be remotely related to the *tefillin*; i.e. Zachariah and Daniel fol. 134 r. and 221 v.

[86]That is a common gesture for the praying Jew. See Fig. 60–65.

[87]A. Grabar, *Miniatures byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1939, Fig. 35–40.

the covered head.[88] On Folio 181 of the Paris manuscript of Jakob Kokkinobaphos already examined,[89] a few figures in the group on the right also wear this type of cowl and on Folio 186 in Vat. Gr. 1162, Joseph is seen drinking the bitter waters, accompanied by figures with covered heads (Fig. 21).

The Octateuchs which, as we saw, were an important source for *tefillin*, also bear witness to this other phenomenon. In the cycle of Moses, one finds hoods and cowls. In Folio 86 v. of Vat. Gr. 747, white cowls with red stripes appear for the first time on the heads of Jews sacrificing animals and marking the lintels of doorways[90] (Fig. 33). In Folio 115 v., one sees a group of Jews participating in the worship of the golden calf with their heads covered by *tallitot*. In Folio 198 v., Moses addresses the people; while the divine appearance in the heavens has a cruciform halo, the Jews on the right have their heads covered with *tallitot* worn as hoods (Fig. 34). Vatican Gr. 746, in which we saw *tefillin* in their purest form,[91] shows groups of Jews wearing hoods in Folios 332 and 394, for instance. In certain miniatures, like Folio 423, only two men out of eight are wearing cowls. In others, women are shown wearing cowls with stripes and fringes.[92]

Cowls can differ from one another in design or color. There are cowls of a single color,[93] and striped cowls,[94] inevitably with an opposition between the isolated central character—David, Moses or Jesus—and the group with covered heads.

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[88]Beard and long hair are, for Jews, prescribed by the Bible: Lev. 19:27 and 21:5. Shaving of the head and the beard was associated with degradation and humiliation in reference to pagan cults.

[89]Paris BN Gr. 1208. For a bibliography see note 61.

[90]The miniature should be read from right to left.

[91]In which is the famous miniature of the midrashic snake-camel. Istanbul Seraglio Cod. 8, fol. 43 v. K. Weitzmann, *Die Illustration der Septuaginta*, p. 75.

[92]For example, fol. 405: Moses stands holding an open scroll, with the child Jesus in the heavens with a crossed halo and a group of Jews with uncovered heads; one woman has a piece of fabric over her head. For the problem of the women's *tallit* see Yadin, op. cit. pp. 76–78.

[93]Athos Dyonisiou Cod. 587 fol. 19 v., 33 and 42. Vatop. Cod. 761 fol. 13 v. Florence Laur. Plut. 6.36 fol. 312. Pelekanidis, op. cit. Fig. 203, 218 and 219. Cutler, op. cit. Fig. 67 and 217.

[94]Athos Vatop. 760 fol. 266. Cutler, op. cit. Fig. 385.

One finds an interesting example of the introduction of contemporary features in Vatican Psalter Gr. 752,[95] (Fig. 35), where Aquila is shown listening to the sons of Korah. Wound round his head he wears a *tallit*, which hangs down over his forehead and ends with fringes. Such *tallitot* are also found in Sicilian art, in Monreale, where Habakkuk[96] is shown in a more elaborate version with a piece of fabric falling in pleats on one side of his head and over his shoulders, or in the story of Paul, attributed to a group of listening Jews (Fig. 36). At St Mark's in Venice,[97] either Micah and Ezekiel wear hoods which are decorated with stripes and dots and fall to either side (Fig. 37).[98]

From the twelfth century, the falling to the sides hood was shown on the head of the centurion (Math. 27:54) in certain icons of the Crucifixion. The Munich icon shows the centurion standing to the left of the crucified Jesus and pointing to him with his finger[99] (Fig. 38). He is dressed as a soldier and incongruously wears the Jewish hood, which has even stripes and dots, as in certain examples seen previously. The fresco at Studenitsa (Fig. 39) shows him with the same headgear, but here the fabric which covers his head is decorated with golden stars; and again in Zila, in Serbia, in Aquilea and St Mark's in Venice.[100] One finds the same phenomenon in another scene which we shall examine in detail in the following chapter: the story of Jephonias, who profaned the *Koimesis*, the Virgin's Dormition. An icon, probably of Crusader origin, shows Jephonias dressed as a Roman soldier and wearing a striped hood (Pl. X).[101] This depiction of the

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[95]E.T. De Wald, *The Illustration of the Septuagint*: (*vol.* 3.) *Psalms or Odes. Vat. Gr.* 752, Pl. XXXV, fol. 195 v., Princeton, 1942.

[96]E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale*, Palermo, 1960, Figs 101.

[97]O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, Chicago, 1984, **2,** Figs. 20–21.

[98]The cap is very different from the Oriental turban which is to be found, for example, in the Romance of Alexander the Great (Xyngopoulos, op. cit. pp. 135–51) and in the Romance of Barlaam and Joseph, Athos Iviron 463, fol. 118 (S. Der Nersessian *L'Illustration du Roman de Barlaam et de Joseph*, Paris, 1937, p. 171ff.

[99]K. Weitzmann, *Spätantike und Früchristliche Buchmalerei*, Fig. 16.

[100]*D. T. Rice, Byzantine Painting, the Last Phase*, New York, 1968, p. 46ff.,Pl. 45, 49, 55, 69 and 71.

[101]K. Weitzmann, *Spätantike und Früchristliche Buchmalerei*, Fig. 40. The hood could be interpreted, of course, as an Arab headgear; as has already been pointed out, executioners were often shown with Moslem garments. See

[*Footnote* 101 *continuted overleaf*

centurion as a Jewish character poses the question of its true iconographical significance. Does it show an incomprehension of the motif, or is it something intentional?

Though we are unable to give a definite answer to this question (for it is beyond the scope of this study), we can suggest two possible interpretations. The first would be anti-Jewish in character: i.e., the Jewish hood would give the centurion a negative identification; there would be an association between the Jewishness and the Crucifixion, guilt and non-recognition of Jesus. A Jewish identity, revealed by his headgear, would thus constitute an active element in the centurion's guilt: being guilty, the centurion (a Roman) could only be Jewish. But it has to be stressed that he can also be an Arab. Some authors have it that medieval art depicted executioners with exotic garments that are meant to be Arabic; in this case, the headgear would have been a turban.

A second possible interpretation could be connected with the ultimate fate of the centurion. Could this represent a "garment of life" for the centurion, since this was the moment when he recognized Jesus and came to believe in him? Did it constitute, in the case of both the centurion and Jephonias, a sign of their new election? If so, the significance of the "Jewish" headgear would transcend the immediate context of the scene and already allude to the two characters' ultimate fate of conversion and acceptance into Grace. In support of this latter interpretation, it can be pointed out that this garment of Jewish origin may be the same worn by the newly baptized, who are at the dawn of a new spiritual life and a "people of God" and may thus have to be recognizable through the sign of identification which was that of the people of Israel.[102]

Footnote 101 *continued*]

G. Cornu and M. Martiniani-Reber, "Le Ménologe de Basile II," *L'Oeil* **381** (1987), pp. 24–29.

[102]For a negative picture of the vinegar-offerer in the Gospels in Western art to compare with the depiction of the centurion, see W.C. Jordan, "The Last Tormentor of Christ: An Image of the Jew in Ancient and Medieval Exegesis, Art and Drama," *JQR* **78** (1987), pp. 21–47. Dr. Bianca Kühnel kindly drew my attention to this article. There should be a very thorough study of the relationship between the garments of the baptized (long white coats with rays and fringes) and the cloth of the deposition (e.g. Athos Iveron Cod. 1 fol. 257) with the *tallit*. See also fol. 30 or 193 v. in the Vat. Gr. 752 (De Wald, op. cit.,Pl. XVII and XXXV).

Negative Characters

A certain number of characters in the Gospels, and also in the Bible, owing to their historical function and their role in the unfolding of events, have a very obvious negative aspect. This is the case, and probably most strikingly of all, with Judas, the apostle who sold his master, and also with Caiphas, the High Priest who represented injustice and error.[103] Both of them had a special place in Western Christian iconography,[104] in the same way as Cain, the murderer of his brother. A symbol of evil even in the Old Testament (Gen. 4), in patristic literature he was very early associated with the Jews.[105] Ambrose gives, *c.* 375, the basic elements of a pejorative comparison between Cain and the Jews.[106] Readopted by Jerome[107] and Augustine,[108] this comparison was embroidered with typological elements and formed part of Augustinian dialectics. It was typified by the following brief sentence: "Only when a Jew comes over to Christ is he no longer Cain."[109]

In Byzantium, neither of these three figures had a special place in iconography, they were neither given a negative characterization, nor were they caricatured. The mosaic in S. Appolinare Nuovo in Ravenna showing the kiss of Judas depicts him as dressed in the same way as the other apostles, with physical features which are in no way different. He is given short hair, a beard and a black moustache identical to those of another apostle on the right-hand side. In Folio 8 of the Codex Rossanensis, Judas hands the money over to the High Priest and runs away to hang

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[103]Matt. 26:14–25; Mark 14:10–21; Luke 22:3–23; and Matt. 26:57–66; Mark 14:53–65; Luke 22:54–55, 66–71; and John 18:24, 15–16, 18.

[104]See Chapter Three for examples in western iconography and R. Mellinkoff, "Judas' Red Hair and the Jews," *JJA* **9** (1982), pp. 31–46.

[105]R. Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain*, Berkeley, 1981 and "Cain and the Jews," *JJA* **6**, p. 6ff.

[106]"De Cain et Abel," *CSEL* 32 (1897), pp. 339–409. "Haec figura synagogae et ecclesiae in istis duobus fratribus ante praecessit, Cain et Abel, per Cain arricidalis populus intellegitur Iudaeorum, qui domini et auctoris sui et secundum Mariae virginis partum fratris, ut ita dicam, sanguinem persecutus est . . ."

[107]See Mellinkoff, *Cain and the Jews*, note 4.

[108]"Contra Faustum," *CSEL*, **25**(6), pp. 337–43.

[109]See Mellinkoff, op. cit., note 7.

himself.[110] Here, too, nothing distinguishes him from the other characters, either in his clothes or in his physical type, or in his gestures. As for the High Priests themselves, if one of them is a pronouncedly Semitic type,[111] the other is a dignified old man with a white beard and white hair.

The representation of Judas in Byzantine art preserves this neutral prototype. Folio 314 of the Sacra Parallela (Fig. 40), in which Judas is distinguished from the other characters only by his actions, is an illustration of this. Folio 68 v. of the Psalter Pant. Gr. 61 shows Judas in the scene of Jesus's arrest: he appears in a tunic on the right of the picture, without any special negative features. On the left, on the other hand, there is a heavy Jew with the head of a Silen and a hooked nose.[112]

As for Caiphas, the High Priest, he is often shown wearing a cowl, but that is the only distinctive sign. As an example, one can mention the eleventh-century lectionary from Mount Athos, Folio 113, where Caiphas and Pilate are both shown wearing cowls, although with different decoration.[113] In the twelfth century, one sees the same phenomenon, for example in Folios 51 and 138 v. of the Athens Tetraevangelion.[114]

Cain is frequently represented in biblical iconography. The variations of this theme concern Cain's method of murdering Abel and the instruments used: in the miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Ashburnham and the Octateuchs[115] (Fig. 41–42), one sees an ass's jaw, stones and an axe. However, no special sign distinguishes him as a representative of the Jews or as a typological symbol of evil. He did not have the iconographical success

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[110]Matt. 27:3–10.

[111]Frequent in the manuscript. See Jesus in this folio and the following.

[112]S. Dufrenne, *L'Illustration des Psautiers Grecs du Moyen–Age*, Paris, 1966. The miniature illustrates Ps. 55(56). Also fol. 32 v. and 113 in the Chludov Psalter represent Judas without an infamy sign.

[113]Dyonisiou Cod. 587. Pelekanidis, op. cit. Fig. 230.

[114]Athens Cod. 93, A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Ch. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, Athens, 1978.

[115]Fol. 69 and 335 of the BN Gr. 923. Fol. 6 r. of the BN Lat. 2334 and fol. 25 v. of the Vat Gr. 747 and fol. 45 r. of the Vat. Gr. 746.

known by his Western counterpart from the twelfth century onwards and did not become a paragon of sinfulness.[116]

Is one to deduce from this that Byzantine art was unacquainted with caricature, and was incapable of using a deliberate distortion of bodily or facial features in order to render a person repulsive or hateful? In that case, it would be easy to suppose that this phenomenon simply did not exist, and to conclude, through an *ex nihilo* argument, that it was impossible for the Byzantine artist to become caricatural.

Examples of caricature do exist, however, although not very often and not recurring in a consistent manner. A. Grabar has pointed out a few. In Folio 85 v. of the Chludov Psalter, for instance,[117] one of the characters has a "pronounced Semitic type (a large hooked nose, thick lips and a pointed beard)". Closely related physical types appear in Folios 31 and 52 (Figs 43–44). Another example can be found on Folio 8 in an Athos lectionary of the eleventh century (Fig. 45). Here, Jesus is represented with two disciples, one of whom wears a cowl (the Jewish headgear), and has pronounced Semitic features and tousled hair.[118] In the Psalters, tousled hair often seems to be a special feature of unbelievers. It is sometimes accompanied by pronounced Semitic traits.[119]

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[116]See Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain*, Chap. 5, pp. 93–102.

[117]A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme byzantin*, p. 288 and also fol. 67 v. Ps. 68(69,28), which represents the Jews buying off the guardians of Jesus' tomb. A few are wearing hoods, but in the lower part of the miniature a demoniac bishop is ordaining priests; his hair is standing like the hair of the iconoclasts in fol. 51 v. or Iannis in fol. 35 v. On fol. 85 v., Ps. 85(86,9) (Fig. 156 in Grabar), Jesus is giving his benediction to a group of which the third and the fourth figure have very heavy Semitic features. The man covering icons with paint in fol. 67 also has his hair standing on end. "Liars" are figured with long tongues, e.g. fol. 70 v; Moses enemies on fol. 77 have heads like Silenes.

[118]Dyonisiou Cod. 587. Pelekanidis, op. cit. Fig. 193.

[119]This is the case for the iconoclasts: Iannis in the Psalter Pant. Gr. 61, fol. 165 r. On fol. 65 v. Ps. 53(54),Pl. 9 (S. Dufrenne, op. cit.), two Zepheans with crooked noses come to tell Saul of David's capture. Folio 68 v., already cited, shows together David's and Jesus' arrest; the soldiers in the upper scene and the Jews, in the lower scene, have markedly Semitic profiles, but this is not the case for Judas. On fol. 106 v. Ps. 77(78) (15, S. Dufrenne, op. cit.) in the group of Hebrews reproaching Moses, a Silen's head and a Semitic profile can be seen. The water of Mara of fol. 114, Ps. 80(81) (17, S. Dufrenne, op. cit.) opposes, in a very striking

[*Footnote* 119 *continued overleaf*

If such examples undoubtedly exist, they are rare. Being infrequent, they can be regarded as having little significance, as persistent repetition and continuity in the choice of the person to be caricatured is the only factor which can render this form of representation significant. A character who is consistently represented in a spirit of caricature is recognizable owing to the very fact that he is caricatured. He becomes a stereotype. The few Byzantine images of a caricatural nature are not clearly and consistently identifiable as representations of Jews. Broadly speaking, their features can be identified with heretics, unbelievers, or, more exactly, iconoclasts.

Similarly, Byzantine art does not know the phenomonen, so common in Western art, of the presence of Jews in representations of the Last Judgment, and yet the origin of these representations is to be found in Byzantium.[120] Neither Folio 51 v. of Ps. Paris Gr. 74,[121] (Fig. 46) nor the Sinai icon,[122] (Fig. 47) nor the mosaics at Torcello,[123] nor the painting of the paraclesion at the Karje Djami[124] (Fig. 48) show, in their scrupulously terrifying depiction of the different sections of hell,[125] groups of Jews, recognizable by their costumes or headgear, or identified as such.[126] Even the little black devils which represent the Tempter are devoid of any sense

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Footnote 119 *continued*]
contrast the Jews with ugly profiles, drinking before the well, to the noble beauty of Moses' face.

[120]B. Brenk, "Die Anfänge der byzantinischen Weltgerichtes Darstellung," *BZ* 57 (1964), pp. 106–28 and *Tradition und Neuerung in der Christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends*, Vienna, 1966.

[121]V. Lazarev, *Storia*, pp. 187–88; S. Jonsdottir, *An Eleventh Century Byzantine Last Judgment in Iceland*, Reykjavik, 1959, Pl. 3, p. 19ff; B. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung*, pp. 84–86 and *Die Anfänge*, *Fig.* 1.

[122]K. Weitzmann, *The Icon, Holy Images from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Century*, London, 1978, p. 84, Pl. 23.

[123]A. Grabar, *Byzantine Painting*, Geneva, 1953, pp. 119–21; V. Lazarev *Storia*, pp. 242, 271.

[124]P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, and S. der Nersessian, *Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Pareclesion*, 4, pp. 325–31. Testifying to the same influences are the mosaics of the Baptisterium in Florence and Giotto's Last Judgment in the Capella Arena in Padua.

[125]Matt. 8:12, 24:30–32 and 25:31–46; Mark 9:43–48.

[126]Nevertheless, influenced by the same iconographic formula, the miniature in fol. 255 of the *Hortus Deliciarum* written by the abbess Herrade of Landsberg, shows "Judei" cooking in the vats of Hell.

of caricature. And yet the artists are quite capable of giving an identity to their characters. As an example, we need only mention the miniature of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus,[127] where an emperor and a bishop are submerged in the river of fire of the Last Judgment, but no Jews are recognizable as such (Fig. 49).

Among the potentially negative figures, there is one last apocryphal character who plays a very special role. The "desecrating" Jew, Jephonias, refusing to believe in the assumption of Mary and to pay her a final homage, wishes in contempt to touch her catafalque. His hands remain stuck to the fabric which covers it, and an angel, to free him, cuts them off.[128] This story, found in apocryphal texts from the fifth and sixth centuries,[129] focuses first on a description of his act, then on his punishment, and finally on the repentance and conversion of the Jew, who then regains his hands. These three stages in the texts[130] become one stage in iconography.

The Jephonias episode appears in art around the ninth and tenth centuries in Cappadocia:[131] the angel is on the left, holding a raised sword. Jephonias is standing with his hands on the edge of the bed, stuck to it. The subsequent examples are much later. In the thirteenth century, at the Panagia Mavriotissa at Kastoria, the scene is still identical with that in Cappadocia. In the Omorphi Ecclesia in Athens, however, at the end of the thirteenth century, the angel is flying towards Jephonias, whose hands are not yet severed. In the convent of the Holy Theodores in

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[127]Vat. Gr. 394, fol. 12 v. J.R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, Princeton, 1954, Figs 72, 73.

[128]A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la très Sainte Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du 6ème au 10ème siècles*, Paris, 1955.

[129]The oldest text is probably from the fifth or sixth century, the Pseudo-Meliton from the sixth or seventh century. See Wenger, op. cit., pp. 235–39. The symbolism associates the transfer of the Ark (Samuel II 6:1–12) and the death of Uzza with the profaning gesture of Jephonias.

[130]In the Pseudo-Meliton in which the angel does not exist, the hands of Jephonias dry up by themselves.

[131]At Yilanli Kilisse. For the development of the theme, see J.H. Moitry, *Structure et évolution du schéma iconographique de la dormition de la Vierge dans la peinture murale byzantine jusqu'au 15ème siècle* diss., Paris, Sorbonne, 1987. And A.W. Epstein, "Frescoes of the Mavriotissa Monastery near Kastoria: Evidence of Millenarianism and Antisemitism in the Wake of the First Crusade," in *Gesta* **21** (1982), pp. 21–27.

Mistra, of nearly the same date, the angel and the Jew face one another and Jephonias's hands are already cut off (*c.* 1295). The prototype remains much the same in the many representations of the fourteenth century: in Mistra (Fig. 50),[132] in Volotovo and in Zemen, for example, Jephonias turns his back to the angel and seems to be fleeing. In the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Fig. 51),[133] however, and in Voikovo, at the end of the sixteenth century, the angel is shown on the right and no longer on the left. He is now dressed as a warrior-saint.

The last prototype, at Studenitsa, Gracanica, St Clement of Ochrid and Decani, is connected with the funeral of the Virgin and not with the Dormition, as previously. The angel and the Jew are now of the same size as the other characters: Jephonias grasps the end of the bed to which his hands, already cut off, remain attached. The angel, having performed its act of retribution, sheathes its sword. Rather than Jephonias's attempted desecration which one saw in the first prototype, one sees here the consequence of that attempt—Jephonias's punishment.

It is interesting to note that, in the development of this theme, no place was given to the third stage of the story, the repentance and final conversion of the Jew. The original intention which inspired the motif and remained constant throughout its variations is now perfectly clear. It was that of showing Jephonias's crime and to explain its circumstances and desecratory purpose, and to depict its miraculous punishment. Nothing in the iconographical treatment leads one to suppose that, following repentance, this punishment was reversible. Nothing suggests the possibility of the Jew's conversion and, finally, the lifting of the punishment. The intention is thus clearly negative. This is an unattractive personality which nothing can save from the instinctive hostility of the spectator. Such a character ought to provide an ideal opportunity for an exaggeration, for an attempted caricature, for a deformation on the part of the artist which would make him still more immediately repulsive.

Strangely enough, here, no more than in the cases of Judas and Caiphas, does Byzantine art adopt the easy solution of

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[132]See note 68.
[133]See note 70.

moralistically-motivated caricature. Indeed, the identity of the character is sometimes recalled by his pleated hood, but no physical deformation, no accentuation of features reminds one that this character (who had no iconographical past and did not exist in the sixth century, which, one should remember, permitted a far greater freedom with regard to established prototypes)—nothing reminds one that this character, whose role, to the Byzantine spectator, was totally unjustifiable, was in any way different from the mass which surrounded him. Nothing suggests that he was hateful because he was hideous, deformed or satanic.[134] There is no addition, either to his visual appearance or in the form of an explanatory symbol or attitude. There is no intention, in short, of moralizing in excess of the representation of an action which was reproved and immediately punished.

In the cases of Judas and Cain as in that of Jephonias, the disbelieving Jew, the Byzantine iconographic attitude was characterized, once more, by a propensity to make a visual statement without passing judgment.

Jewish "Saints"

If Jephonias was destined to be the model of the unbelieving Jew in apocryphal literature, other Jews played a completely opposite role and had their own special place in iconography.

The "Maccabees" in Christian art were not—as they were in history and in Jewish tradition—the brothers of Judas Maccabeus and the sons of the priest Mattitiahu. They were the seven sons of Hannah, who died as martyrs during the religious persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes. The second Book of Maccabees relates their story, but without identifying the mother; the fourth Book, devoted to a reflection on the piety of martyrs, calls the mother Salomone.[135] The story is simple in its tragic grandeur. Antiochus wished to compel an old man, Eleazar, a young mother and her seven sons to eat forbidden foods. They all refused. The sons were killed in front of their mother, and their tortures are

[134]He does not have a long, crooked nose, pointed ears or the ugly mouth of an animal, nor does he have horns or a small devil sitting on his shoulder. See examples in Western art, Figs 74–79.

[135]Maccabees II,7 and IV.

described in the text in great detail. Then it was the turn of the mother and the old man. Although the Book of Maccabees does not form part of the biblical canon, there are many Jewish sources for this story,[136] including talmudic texts, *piyyutim*, and mediaeval poetry praising the martyrdom of Hannah and her sons, and comparing it to the martyrdom of mediaeval Jewish communities at the hands of Christian fanatics.[137]

Jewish art represented these figures only very rarely and at a very late date (Fig. 66),[138] but Christian art gave them an important place from the earliest times. How are these Jewish martyrs represented in Christian art? Before examining the representations one by one, we must, as in the case of Jephonias, attempt to understand their role in the Christian scheme of things. Unlike the case of Jephonias, the textual sources go back to the fourth century.

Between the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, the official martyrology of the Syrian Church[139] made the first of August the date of the commemoration of the seven Maccabee brothers—the sole representatives of the Old Covenant among the Christian martyrs. The text mentioned their burial: "The martyrs of Antioch, buried in Kerateia." The Greek original of this document must certainly have been of a date previous to 386, for the feast of the Maccabees was already splendidly celebrated in the time of Chrysostom. In about 375, Gregory of Nazianzus composed a sermon in honour of the martyrs,[140] and, according to this sermon, the seven brothers were buried close to a synagogue, the main one of the city: that of the Kerateion. In the second century B.C.E., their remains were given to the Jews of the city by one of Antiochus Epiphanes' successors.

Whatever the authenticity of this story may be—and from many points of view it is very questionable—it is a fact that this

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[136]Rabb. Git. 57 b. and Pir. R. Eliezer 43:180.

[137]Medieval *piyutim* (liturgical poems) in Hebrew, Arabic and Judeo-Persian call her Hannah.

[138]Two pages in the Hamburg Misc. Stadts und Univ. Bibl. Cod. Heb. 4, fol. 79. J. Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting*, New York, 1978, p. 101, Pl. 31.

[139]See Simon, *Verus Israel*, and "Les Saints d'Israël dans la dévotion de l'Eglise ancienne," *RHJC* 1962, pp. 154–80.

[140]*Oratio* **15**, *P.G.* 35, 912.

synagogue was appropriated by the Christians at a date which historians put between 363 and 368. Indeed, sermons on the brothers were given by John Chrysostom in "their church"[141] and Augustine said about the place:[142] "haec basilica a Christianis tenetur."

We have seen in the historical chapter that "recuperations" of this kind were common. This time, the reason was somewhat different: the Christians seized the synagogue in order to gain possession of relics which they regarded as their own property. The idea of the "recuperation" of the martyred brethren for the Church had a dual source. One source was an official act of the Church illustrating, through a specific case with tangible roots in actuality (i.e., relics), the continuity between the Old and New Covenant, the first of which was held to be a prefiguration of the second. Acts of this kind expressed a well-known policy (we have already met it in this study), and one which is well represented in iconography. We have seen the representation of typological figures from Melchizedek onwards. But, once again, the situation here was different: until then, there had not been any prototypes for martyrs. When persecutions took place against the Christians, the brothers, slain for their faith, were able to serve as models. As early as the third century, Cyprian mentioned the brothers as prototypes and speculated on the mystical significance of the number seven. In the fourth century, they were truly honored and were compared to the first Christian martyrs, Peter and Stephen.

The other source was of popular origin. The veneration of relics was a phenomenon encouraged by the Church, but, before the "recuperation" of the relics, it raised a difficult problem where the public was concerned, for here the cult of saints threatened to expand into a Judaizing movement. The search for miraculous cures drove the Christians towards the tombs of the Maccabees, where they met rabbis.[143] From there, it was only a small step to the conclusion that the cure could come from any synagogue. Besides, did not the death of the seven brothers constitute a

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[141]Between 385 and 390.

[142]*Sermo* 300.5.

[143]Chrysostom vehemently denies them because they use amulets and philters.

lesson in itself? They preferred the supreme sacrifice to the risk of transgressing the Law: this Law, then, could not be obsolete or devoid of value.

The danger of Judaization was too great and threatened too many consequences to be allow to go unchecked. The Church therefore seized the synagogue in order to gain possession of the relics, which it regarded as Christian property. The real motivation which underlay this action, however, was the desire to end the dangerous contacts with the Jewish community.

And yet the cult of the Maccabees was not instituted without opposition from within the Church itself. John Chrysostom reflected this controversy, and spoke vehemently against those who refused to include them among the martyrs on the pretext "that they did not shed their blood for Christ but for the Faith and for the prescriptions of the Law, slaughtered as they were for pork meat."[144] Gregory of Nazianzus, in his fifteenth sermon on the Maccabees, asked: "And why the Maccabees? For it is they whom I wish to eulogize. Many people refuse to honor them because they did not wage their struggle after Christ." But they died for the faith of their fathers, a praiseworthy action, and "those who thus testified before Jesus Christ and without His example, what feats would they not have accomplished if they had come after Him?"[145] The argument may seem a little specious, but it accompanies the entry of the seven brothers and their mother into Byzantine iconography and arouses one's curiosity concerning these much-disputed figures.

The brothers, from now on called Maccabees, appear for the first time in a fresco at Santa Maria Antiqua.[146] Grouped around their mother, a central figure, haloed and dressed like Mary, they are of various heights and wear long tunics and mantles. They are bareheaded, and have no special attributes or distinctive signs.

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[144]Hom. de Eleazar et Septem Pueris, **VII.** *PG* 63, 525.

[145]Simon *Les Saints d'Israël*, p. 159. Oratio 15, *PG* 35, 912.

[146]E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, Pl. VII; P.J. Nordhagen, "Santa Maria Antica: The Frescoes of the 7th Cent.," *Acta ad archeologicam et artium historiam pertinentia* **VIII** (1978), pp. 114–20, Pl. XXXVIII–XLIV.

In the manuscripts of Gregory of Nazianzus, much later than the text itself,[147] there are groups of miniatures of some variety which are not fully explained by the text. They suggest the existence of a *Vita* independent of the text and iconographically very rich, of a date earlier than the ninth century. After a miniature introducing the sermon in a general way, in which the characters are represented at full or half length,[148] there are scenes of the martyrdom, shown in great detail. They can be described as forming groups of six representations,[149] each depicting a different scene of torture, or as separate, sometimes additional scenes—Antiochus and the Jews, Salomone exhorting her sons and the martyrdom of Eleazar.[150] In all cases, the miniaturists represent the Maccabee brothers dressed in long tunics and mantles fastened on the shoulder, sometimes with a tablion. They are always bareheaded and usually haloed. This is the way in which they represented on Folio 340 of Paris Gr. 510, on the miniature opening Oratio 15.[151] On Folio 540 v. of the Bible of Queen Christina, they form a dense group of nimbed figures (Fig. 52). They are never represented as Jews, although the artists are not unaware of their true historical environment. Folio 45 v. of Paris Coislin 239, among other examples, demonstrates this in this miniature, Antiochus addresses a group of Jews who stand before him and they are wearing hoods.

In some representations, the process of "recuperation" is even more evident and constitutes a kind of sign. The Athos manuscript[152] Panteleimon Cod. 6, contains a representation of the Maccabees on Folio 53 r. As previously, they are dressed in chitons and in mantles fastened on the shoulder with a tablion. Bareheaded, they are carrying a book and a cross: they have lost

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[147]G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, Princeton, 1969, pp. 109–17.

[148]Athos Pant. 6, fol. 53. Paris BN Coislin 239, fol. 37 v.

[149]Moscow St. Histor. Mus. Cod. 146, fol. 40 v.

[150]Paris Coislin 239, fol. 45 v. and 39 v.

[151]Paris Bibl. Nat. Gr. 510, S. der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Naziansus Paris Gr. 510: A Study of the Connection between Text and Images," *DOP* **16** (1962), p. 210. *Cat. Byzance et la France Médiévale*, Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, 1958, p. 7.

[152]Pelekanidis, op. cit., Fig. 302.

all Jewish identity and have become Christian martyrs, dressed and represented as such.

In Byzantine iconography, these post-biblical characters, these figures with an infinitely noble and tragic fate, ancestors and archetypes of the Jewish martyrology of the Middle Ages, become Christian figures who are almost anachronistic and displaced in relation to the visual and historical context of their story. Entirely recuperated, even in their representation in manuscript miniatures, they are far from being negative figures. Like Moses and David, for example, they bear no distinctive sign of their Jewish identity, but unlike these, they go way beyond that and become completely Christian.[153]

A Theological Allegory: the Church and the Synagogue

The personification of the Synagogue is the translation into iconographical terms of a theological concept which was deeply rooted in mediaeval Christian thought.[154] Its sources, however, were not originally Christian. The union of God and his people, their mystical relationship, and the personification of Israel as a betrothed woman are constant themes, both poetical and symbolic, of Jewish tradition.[156] A symbol of God's love for his people,

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[153]But David is shown praying and holding a cross in the Ps. Vat. Gr. 752, fol. 7.

[154]B. Blumenkranz, "Synagoga: Mutation d'un motif de l'iconographie médiévale," in *Judaica et Hellenica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky*, Paris, 1986, pp. 349–55, and "Altercatio Aecclesie contra Synagogam," *RMAL* 10 (1954), pp. 1–160; P. Bloch, "Nachwirkungen des alten Bundes in der Christichen Kunst," in *Monumenta Judaica*, Cologne, 1963, pp. 735–81, especially pp. 751–55; L. Grodecki, "Les vitraux allégoriques de St Denis," in *Art de France*, 1961, pp. 19–46; P. Hildenfinger, "La Figure de la Synagogue dans l'art du Moyen-Age" *REJ* XLVII (1903), pp. 187–96; H. Pflaum, *Die religiöse Disputation in der Europäischen Dichtung des Mittelalters: Der allegorische Streit zwischen Synagog und Kirche*, Geneva, 1935; M. Schlauch, "The Allegory of Church and Synagogue," *Speculum* 14 (1939), pp. 448–64; W.S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages*, Munich, 1970 (first ed. in 1964 in German). And A. Weis, "Ekklesia", in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, IV, col. 1190ff.

[155]Song of Songs, *passim*. See E.J. art. "Song of Songs" *EJ* 15, col. 144; W. Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der Mittelalterlichen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1926, no. 1004, p. 175. And O.A. Erich, *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kungstgeschichte*, col. 1198.

it can also, in the always feminine form of Jerusalem or Zion, be an image of mourning and of desolation.[156] In the Jewish biblical literature, however, and in the poetical texts of the Middle Ages, one has only a personification of the union: the feminine figure of the betrothed is alone in the presence of the Bridegroom.[157]

The opposition between the Church and Synagogue as the representatives of two covenants, with one taking the place of the other, can be traced, at the beginning, to other textual sources. Jeremiah's prophetic vision, even when warning of imminent catastrophe, does not envisage "another" Jerusalem,[158] but Paul, in the Epistle to the Galatians (4:21–31), puts forward the idea of the rivalry of two covenants, one of servitude and the other of freedom:

> Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman. But he who was after the bondwoman was born after the flesh; but he of the freewoman was by promise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from Mount Sinai, which gender the to bondage which is Agar. For this Agar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written, Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not, for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath a husband. Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise. But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Nevertheless, what saith the Scripture? Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for he of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the freewoman. So then, brethren, we are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free.

What the Epistle to the Galatians reveals is an opposition between the two covenants, the two Jerusalems: an opposition based not only on a typological model but also on the idea of a

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[156]Lamentations 1:1–6, 2:1–4, 5:16 and compare with Matthew 23. For the influence of the iconography of Synagoga, see Seiferth, p. 47ff.

[157]Medieval Jewish iconography shows the bride in the *piyut* (liturgical poem) opening with Song of Songs 4.8, sitting in the same attitude as the Virgin in the coronation scene. G. Sed-Rajna, *Le Mahzor enluminé: Les voies de formation d'un programme iconographique*, Leiden, 1983, p. 21ff. See also N. Feuchtwanger. "The Coronation of the Virgin and the Bride," *JA*, **12–13** (1986–87), pp. 213–24.

[158]We have seen in E. Revel-Neher, *Le Signe de la Rencontre*, p. 40ff. (Jer. 3:14–19) that Jeremiah, on the contrary, announces the renewal of the covenant in the land of Israel, even before its breakup.

persecution, according to the very words of the Epistle. This is followed by the notion of a break, the New Covenant casting the Old out. We cannot deal with the interpretational difficulties of this text, its structural problems and the question of its place in Christian theology. But its importance for the development of an allegory fundamental to the Middle Ages cannot be ignored. Elaborated in numerous patristic writings and anonymous texts,[159] this opposition became an antagonism which was reflected in images.

In the fifth century, a pair of female figures appears already; together they constitute the Christian community: "*Ecclesia ex circumcisione*" and "*Ecclesia ex gentibus.*" There is no iconographical opposition; though set clearly apart on the walls of the nave in Santa Sabina, they are two almost identical women dressed in dark garments, their heads covered, holding open books.[160] They represent the two origins of the Church, the Church out of the circumcision, the Jews, and the Church out of the nations, the pagans. At Santa Pudenziana, also in Rome,[161] they are represented as identical and parallel figures who sit on either side of Jesus, among the apostles whom they are crowning; a huge cross is in the middle of the composition and Jerusalem, in the background, is depicted by several buildings. Certainly, this is not yet the Church and the Synagogue, identified by attributes and easily distinguishable. But the formula and the concept are already in the process of taking shape (Fig. 53).

Dating from the same period, a single figure personifying the Church, a bust of a crowned woman with a chalice in her hand, appears already in Chapel 17 in Bawit.[162]

In Western art, the Church and the Synagogue are represented by two female figures, depicted at first in a parallel manner and related to the Crucifixion. The theme appears in the ninth

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[159]Latin text of the Ps. Augustinus: *De altercatione Ecclesiae et Synagogae Dialogus*, *PL* **42** col. 1131–40. For Byzantium: *De Synagogae defectu*, Cyril of Alexandria, *PG* **86**, 1421–24. And see n. 154 for bibliography.

[160]F. Van der Meer, *Die Ursprunge christlicher Kunst*, Freiburg, 1982, p. 65.

[161]A. Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian*, fig. 145. B. Kühnel, "From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millenium," *Römische Quartalschrift*, 42 Supplementheft, Rome, Freiburg and Wien, 1987.

[162]W. de Gruneisen, *Les Caractéristiques de l'art Copte*, Rome, 1921, Pl. 32, 1.

century in Carolingian iconography, where the Church and the Synagogue are dramatically opposed in their reaction to the Crucifixion. The Synagogue dissociates herself, turns away or even goes so far as to walk away from the scene, indifferent.[165]

It is only towards the end of the tenth century, however, that the pair "Church and Synagogue" begins to be figured in Byzantium. A quadrilobed cross, dated from about 957, shows, in a scene of the Crucifixion, two women personifying the Synagogue and the Church.[164] They are both dressed alike, with their heads covered. One is standing at the right of Jesus and receiving his blood in a chalice, the other walks away from the scene, turning her back to it. Two angels are seen in bust on the two sides of the cross.

In the Paris Gospel Gr. 74, on Folio 59 r.[165] (Fig. 54) a more complete scene is represented. An angel accompanies two women whose presence at the foot of the cross represents the opposition between the two eras, that of Law and that of Grace. The angel, who is standing between the two women, becomes an integral part of the group.

This group of three, at first static, then becomes active. At the Panagia Mavriotissa in Kastoria,[166] dating from the eleventh or twelfth century, for instance, the angel who in the Paris Gospels separates the two figures, pushes the Synagogue out of the picture, while the Church carries a chalice. At Studenitsa, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Church and the Synagogue are reduced to two half-length figures. At Gracanica and Zemen, one finds only remnants of the group: a woman and the angel in the first place and the Church with the angel, in the second.[167]

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[163]See Seiferth, op. cit., Fig. 1–9. The Church appears for the first time, but alone, in the middle of the ninth century in initial of the Drogo Sacramentary, Paris BN Lat. 9428, fol. 43 v.

[164]R. Hausherr, *Der tote Christus am Kreuz: Zur Ikonographie des Gerokreuzes* (Diss.) Bonn, University 1963; *Au pays de la toison d'or, Art ancien de Géorgie soviétique, exposition Paris Grand Palais*, 1982, no. 49, p. 126.

[165]See note 87.

[166]B. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung*, Fig. 25.

[167]O. Bihalji-Merin, *Fresken und Ikonen*, Munich, 1958, Pl. 27; V. Djuric, "La plus ancienne peinture de Studenitsa à la lumiere de l'historiographie," in V. Korac, *Studenitsa et l'art byzantin autour de l'an* 1200, Belgrade, 1986.

The thirteenth-century Armenian Gospel of Jerusalem Cod. 2563 has a feature similar to that which we have described at Kastoria: the Church and the Synagogue are represented, and the latter is seized by the shoulders by an angel who pushes her away. A more explicit stage in the development of this theme is represented in a scene in the Matenadaran Gospels 7644 from Yerevan, also from the thirteenth century.[168] The Church and the Synagogue are accompanied by the angel, but the angel seizes the crown of the Synagogue. Very close to this type is the representation on a book-cover from St Clement in Ochrid.[169] A Syrian manuscript,[170] Vat. Syr. 559, on Fol. 139, shows two angels with these female figures in bust, just under the arms of Jesus. By the way, the centurion here, in addition to his headgear also seems to be wearing *tefillin* (Fig. 55). This would again emphasize his Jewishness.

Personifications of the Church and Synagogue illustrate the Homily of Gregory of Nazianzus on New Sunday. Many examples of this theme are to be found in miniatures from the existing manuscripts of the Homilies.[171] The angel there is often duplicated: that is to say, the Church and Synagogue are both regarded as having the right to their own angel. Each has a particular function in this representation of the disposition of the Covenant. On Folio 30 r. of the manuscript of Athos Pantelemion 6, an angel is shown next to a woman in light colors representing the Church, and another thrusts a female figure outside the picture.

Attributes are added to this new scheme to help in the identification of the characters. In Paris Coislin 239, Folio 22 r. (Fig. 56), an angel flies above the Church, carrying the architectural model of a building surmounted by a cross, while another leads the Synagogue away. In the manuscript of Athos Dionysiou 61, Folio 17 r., the Church, guided by the angel, enters on the right holding

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[168]S. der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge, 1947, Pl. 26, 2.

[169]L. Brehier, "La Sculpture et les arts mineurs," in *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, Paris 1936, Pl. LIX.

[170]J. Leroy, *Les Manuscrits Syriaques à peintures*, Inst. Français d'Archeologie de Beyrouth, Bibl. Art et Histoire LXXVII, Paris, 1964, Pl. 308.

[171]Galavaris, op. cit., p. 95ff. Athos Pant. 6, fol. 30. Paris BN Coislin 239 fol. 22. Athos Dyon. 61, fol. 17. London BL Add. 24381 fol. 2. Paris BN Gr. 550 fol. 30 v.

a receptacle with flames, in a representation reminiscent of the depiction of the virgins in the parable from Matthew in the sixth-century Codex Sinopensis. The London manuscript BM add. 24381, Folio 2 r. (Fig. 57) reveals even more significant details. Behind the angel next to the Church is a frame containing a cross and a ciborium, while another angel pushes away the crownless Synagogue. Finally, the last scheme of illustration of the text of the Homilies, the miniature Folio 30 v. of Paris Gr. 550, shows the Church herself pushing the Synagogue out of the miniature.[172] The angel no longer appears here, as the Church's action renders it unnecessary (Fig. 58).

The figurative sources of this theme can no doubt be found in the characters of paleo-Christian iconography. It has long been suggested that Western influences were responsible for the appearance of this theme in Byzantium. It seems to me that the very great differences between the Byzantine and Western images make this hypothesis unconvincing. First of all, on the level of formal representation, the presence of the angel is completely unknown in the West. On the other hand, examples of the theme are much rarer in Byzantium. In that case, was it adapted to Byzantium, though originating outside? We shall see later, from several examples in western iconography, that the significance of the latter and their effect on the public were totally different. The image of the Church and the Synagogue in Byzantine art is a purely theological concept. By means of the divine messenger, it proclaims the replacement of a Covenant, its disappearance from the scene and the advent of the New Covenant which receives the chalice—of the Church which itself sometimes becomes directly responsible for the eviction of the Synagogue. No Byzantine image, however, passes a judgment on the latter, whether of a theological, historical or moral nature: the profoundly negative

[172]The scene could be tentatively divided into three main types: the first scheme in which Church and Synagogue stand on the two sides of the Cross. The second formula, illustrating the sermon of Gregory of Nazianzus on Easter. And the third version related to scenes in which appears S. Mamas (see e.g. Galavaris, op. cit. Pl. 59). The whole composition could be an early formula based on a scene related to the Crucifixion, because of its Carolingian allusions. At S. Pudenziana, the Cross and Jerusalem are associated. S. Dufrenne suggested that the church building in some miniatures may be the martyrium in Jerusalem.

and so often contemptuous and caricatural judgment which one finds in the art of the West.

Galavaris thought the Byzantine representations might have liturgical sources. The Triodion of the liturgy for the day describes the Church as watered like the Garden of Eden by the blood of Jesus, with Grace now replacing the shadow of the Law. On the day of the Encoenia, the consecration of the Church and the commemoration of the Resurrection, on the eighth day after Easter, the hymns recall the lance which pierced Jesus's side—a life-giving side, a side glistening with divine fire. In Galavaris's opinion, a famous lost lectionary was the origin of the miniatures of Gregory: a lectionary of probably Constantinopolitan origin in which the theme, which was originally connected with the Crucifixion, was reproduced in isolation and connected with the liturgy.

It is not our concern to resolve this problem within the context of this study. The Western images demonstrates a different use of the liturgy and of the theme of the lance-thrust, in this case connected with the personage of the Synagogue. In Byzantium, the allegorical representation of the Synagogue in opposition to the Church is an important element in our consideration of the image of the Jew. Of course, it is not the representation of a real or historically defined figure, or even of a personification of the Jewish people. An essentially theological image, whose origins go back to malevolent polemical texts, it could have developed into an eloquent iconographical indictment. It is yet another example of those "missed opportunities" for anti-Jewish propaganda which occurred often in the art of Byzantium, while at that same period they were exploited in the West with a superabundance of anti-Jewish inventiveness.

3

Signs of Identity and Signs of Infamy

In order to penetrate further into the message of Byzantine images and determine more closely the nature of their representation of the Jew, we must enter the area of comparisons. Formulas, schemes and stereotypes exist in Jewish art then in Western art which can contribute to a comprehension of this representation and highlight its special points.

Jewish Iconographical Sources

Jewish art is originally a language of symbols[1] evoking Jerusalem and Eretz Israel in terms of the Covenant and the Promise. An eschatalogical message, Jewish art is based on an original and singular vocabulary intended for the Jewish people and fully understood only by them. The most ancient remains of a figurative art illustrating biblical scenes are the murals in the synagogue of Dura-Europos in Syria, dating from the middle of the third century.[2] It is here that, for the first time, one can perceive

[1]From the coins of Mathatias Antigonos to those of the Second Revolt, Jewish art represents symbols and objects related to the Temple and speaks of the messianic Return. See E. Revel-Neher, "L'Alliance et la Promesse: Symboles d'Eretz Israël dans l'art juif du Moyen-Age," JA **12–13** pp. 135–146; there is also a bibliography of the subject there.

[2]C. Du Mesnil Du Buisson, "Les peintures de la synagogue de Doura-Europos" RB **XLIII**, (1934), pp. 105–119; *Les peintures de la synagogue de Doura-Europos*, 245–256 *après J-C*, Rome, 1939; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, **IX–XI**, *Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue*, New York, 1964; A. Grabar, "Le thème religieux des fresques de la synagogue de Doura" (245–256 ap. J.C.) RHR **CXXIII** (1941), pp. 143–92; CXXIV (1941), pp. 5–35; J. Gutmann (ed.), *The*

[*Footnote* 2 *continued overleaf*

the Jewish signs of identity. Moses' costume at Dura, in the right-hand panel above the Torah-niche and in the panel of Exodus is in accordance with the stipulations of the biblical text. The white garment with long dark stripes, decorated with a gammadia-pattern, and the fringes protruding from the corners of the mantle bear witness to the exactitude of the representation (Pl. III–IV).

However, if, in the murals at Dura, the *tallit* is obviously the Jewish garment, the biblical figures are bareheaded and there is no sign of *tefillin*. The narrative mosaic pavements of synagogues, from the fourth to the sixth centuries, conform to the "neutrality" of the paleo-Christian formulas, and they have no special signs, no vestimentary peculiarity other than those required by a particular function. Thus, Abraham and Isaac at Beth Alpha, for instance, are clad in striped tunics,[3] while David at Gaza[4] is dressed like a Byzantine emperor.

The Jewish iconographical catalogue is interrupted in the seventh century. After that, narrative scenes are to be found only in illuminated Hebrew manuscripts of the thirteenth century, late in comparison with Byzantine images, but revealing an extraordinary iconographical continuity.[5] It is precisely in the transmission of themes, certain details of which are present in the Byzantine manuscripts, that one looks for the lost traces of the possible existence of a previous Jewish illustrative tradition. Is

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Footnote 2 *continued*]

Dura-Europos Synagogue: A Re-Evaluation (1932–972), Missoula, Montana, 1973; C.H. Kraeling, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report VIII: The Synagogue*, New Haven, 1956; A. Perkins, *The Art of Fura Europos*, Oxford, 1973; M.I. Rostovtzeff, "Die Synagogue von Dura", RQ **XLII** (1934), pp. 203–18; I. Sonne, "The paintings of the Dura Synagogue," HUCA XX (1947), pp. 255–362; R. Wischnitzer, *The Messianic Theme in the Paintings of the Dura Synagogue, Chicago*, 1948.

[3]E.L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, Jerusalem and London, 1932.

[4]M. Avi-Yonah, "The Synagogue at Gaza," BIES 30 (1966), pp. 221–23 (in Hebrew); A. Ovadiah, "Excavations in the Area of the Ancient Synagogue at Gaza," IEJ 19 (1969), pp. 193–98.

[5]J. Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting*, New York, 1978; J. Leveen, *The Hebrew Bible in Art*, London, 1944 (rep. 1972); B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, Jerusalem and New York, 1969; and *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles. Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts*, Jerusalem and London, 1982; G. Sed-Rajna, *The Hebraic Bible in Mediaeval Illuminated Manuscripts*, Freiburg, 1987.

the disappearance of Jewish illuminated manuscripts of an earlier period to be ascribed to the book-burnings and expulsions of mediaeval Europe? The question will surely continue to be asked for a long time.

In mediaeval Jewish iconography, the characteristics of the Jewish costumes are often reflections of the contemporary costumes of the various countries of origin.[6] There are only two kinds of detail which can be described as specifically Jewish. The first is the mark of infamy, in its various forms, imposed on the Jews by the Western Church after 1215 in order to facilitate their identification. In Jewish art it is to be found rarely. Metzger pointed out only four clearly identifiable examples of the Jewish *rouelle*, and examples of the *tabula* are even rarer.[7] However, Jews are consistently shown wearing the *Judenhut*, the pointed hat of the Germanic countries[8] (Fig. 59). This reflects the reality of Jewish daily life; we have noted the Talmudic sources of the obligation of covering one's head. It seems that the Eastern Jews submitted to this custom earlier than the Jews of the Western world; but from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, this detail appears in Jewish manuscripts, clearly reproduced as an element of Jewishness whose negative connotations are deliberately ignored.

The second kind of detail is the distinctive signs or signs of identity imposed on the Jews by the observance of the commandments. Here, as in Byzantium, the *tallit* and *ziziot* play an essential role. The abandonment of the "four-cornered" garment of the classical world caused the Jews to adopt the practice of attaching the *ziziot* to a piece of white woollen fabric which could cover the head and the body. The *tallit*, then, was no longer an item of everyday costume but became a garment of prayer, the misnamed "prayer-shawl". Worn by Jewish male adults at morning prayers, at the services of the Sabbath and festivals and throughout the day of Yom Kippur, it is so characteristic of the Jew that it

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[6]A. Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume*, London, 1973 (first ed. 1967); T. and M. Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, Geneva, 1984, pp. 113–140.

[7]Metzger, *Jewish Life*, pp. 142–47.

[8]Metzger, *Jewish Life*, pp. 147–48. For example, Fig. 168, London BL Add. 22413, fol. 148 r.; and Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, Pl. 27–29.

became a symbol of union.[9] A few examples from Jewish manuscripts of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries explain the details of how the *tallit* was worn. In the margins of an Italian manuscript of the end of the thirteenth century, a little figure is shown standing with a prayer-book in his hands[10] and his head as well as two thirds of his body is covered by a *tallit*. *Ziziot* are attached to the two corners of the piece of material which falls down his left arm and are easily recognizable. An Ashkenazi *ma'hzor* probably written in France at the beginning of the fourteenth century[11] (Fig. 60) shows the *hazan*, the officiant, standing before the Ark. His face is entirely hidden by a *tallit* and its upper decorative band, the *atara*. Only his fingers, resting on the book, emerge from the *tallit*, which falls onto his garment and has stripes on its borders and *ziziot* in its corners.

The *tallit* can also be draped around the face and neck. A miniature from an Ashkenazi miscellany shows an officiant standing in front of a *Sefer Torah* lying on the *bimah*. The *tallit* is draped around his face[12] (Fig. 61). Placed on the head and then hanging on either side of it, it can be also shown falling over the right shoulder.[13] The *ziziot* are clearly depicted in the corners, along the arm and on the back of the figure. Another example of the wrapping of the *tallit* which strongly recalls the Byzantine images is to be found in an Italian *ma'hzor* from the end of the fifteenth century[14] (Fig. 62).

Among the best-known representations, one should remember that of the Rothschild Ms.,[15] where an old man with a white beard who has just taken the *Sefer Torah* out of the Ark has his head

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[9]During the wedding ceremony, it can serve as a nuptial baldachin for the bride and the bridegroom: Jerusalem National and University Library Ms Heb. 4781, Ma'hzor Worms, fol. 72 v.

[10]Parma Bib. Palat. 1870—De Rossi 510, fol. 163 v. Metzger, *Jewish Life*, Fig. 204.

[11]Parma Bib. Palat. 3006—De Rossi 654, fol. 99 v. Metzger, *Jewish Life* Fig. 93.

[12]Hamburg Staats und Universitäts Bibliothek Cod. Hebr. 37, fol. 114. Metzger, *Jewish Life*, Fig. 105.

[13]Jerusalem Coll. Sasson 511, p. 28. Metzger, *Jewish Life*, Fig. 335.

[14]New York Jewish Theological Seminary, Rothschild II, fol. 125. Metzger, *Jewish Life*, Fig. 197.

[15]Jerusalem Israel Museum 180/51, fol. 105 v. North of Italy 1470.

covered with a *tallit* whose *ziziot* fall hither and thither over his hands (Fig. 63). The Mishne Torah in the Jerusalem National Library shows a figure clasping a Torah-scroll to his body: he is completely covered by a *tallit* (Fig. 64).[16] Finally, the Arba Turim by Jacob ben Asher (Fig. 65) from the fifteenth century gives a whole page to a depiction of a scene in a synagogue in which, quite apart from the sheer beauty of the architectural details, all the participants are wearing *tallitot* which cover their heads and from which *ziziot* emerge in front and behind.[17] These few examples demonstrate the importance and the continuity of the sign of identity in mediaeval Jewish iconography—the deliberate choice of a feature which characterizes the Jew in his relationship with his Creator.

Moreover, one must remember that the whole mediaeval Jewish iconographical language is molded by its intentions. The image illustrates the biblical text and the prayers, the *Seder* and the decisions of the *Halacha*, and brings out their essential features—historical, liturgical, legal and eschatological. It reflects a Jewish vision of the world through the continuity of Israel's dialogue with the Creator. From the unfolding of biblical history to the realities of daily life, from which humor is not absent,[18] everything is related to God. The past is intimately linked to the hope of the Messianic future,[19] and evokes the subtleties of theological discussion.

But, whether in scenes of daily life or in eschatological symbols, one never finds a negative representation or a caricature—even an implied one—of the other: that is, of the Christian who, for his part, never hesitated to give such a clear characterization of the Jew. One does not find any form of anti-Christian feeling:

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[16]Jerusalem, Nat. and Univ. Libr. Hebr. 4° 1193, fol. 33 v. XIV cent.

[17]Rome Bibl. Apost. Vatic. Cod. Rossian. 555, fol. 12 v.

[18]Two examples: the Pessa'h cleaning in the Golden Haggadah, London BL Add. 27210, fol. 155 r (Narkiss *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles*, Pl. XL) and the Brother Haggadah London BM Or Ms 1404 fol. 18, in which the master of the house points to his wife when speaking of the bitter herbs, *maror*. Narkiss *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, Pl. 14.

[19]Expressed by the addition of the theme showing the Mount of Olives (Zach. 14:16) to the pages depicting the objects of the Temple. See E. Revel-Neher, *L'Alliance et la Promesse*, p. 142 and n. 24 for a list of manuscripts.

the representations of the entry of the Messiah into Jerusalem[20] which form a parallel to the Christian Last Judgment, in the illustration of the texts read on the *Seder*-night which begin with the words "Shefokh Hamatkha" ("Pour out thy wrath upon the nations that have not known thee, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name"—Psalm 79:6, Jeremiah 10:25). Even there, the "nations that have not known thee" are not identified, marked with a sign or physically differentiated. The scenes of the "sorting out" of the saved and the damned in the *Bibles Moralisées*, for example, provide an irresistible comparison.[21]

Nor are there any representations of polemical themes in which Judaism and Christianity were opposed, and very few scenes of martyrdom, although mediaeval Jewish life in the West was full of them (Fig. 66).[22] Jewish art employed a discreet and modest language which consistently and unemphatically recalled the basic Jewish values and presented a serene image of the mediaeval Jew in the daily and eternal reality of his love for the One God.

The Contrast with the West.

The representation of the mediaeval Jew in religious art of any kind—from sculptures to stained-glass windows, and including manuscripts, ivories, etc.—was something which, in the West as in Byzantium, was dependent on the patronage of the Church. Here, illustrative scenes were accompanied by liturgical themes, typology was a major element of iconography, and myths and legends of popular origin occupied a special position.[23]

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[20]Hamburg Misc. Staats und Universitäts Bibliothek Cod. Heb. 37, fol. 35 v; J. Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting*, Pl. 30. Washington DC, Haggadah, Library of Congress, fol. 19 v. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, Pl. 50.

[21]Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, pp. 47–85, especially p. 77, Fig. 83.

[22]The illustration of the mediaeval *pyyut* of Hanuka exists only in the Hamburg Misc. Staats und Univ. Bibl. Heb. 37, fol. 79 v.; Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, Pl. 39.

[23]Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, pp. 50–78 and *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental* 430–1096, Paris, 1960, for the relationship between literary sources and iconography. G. Kisch, "The Yellow Badge in History," *Historia Judaica* XIX (1957) pp. 89–146.

The iconography of the Carolingian and Ottonian periods continued the tradition of the paleo-Christian sources where the representation of Jews was concerned. It is difficult to find there any special characteristic physical traits, or peculiarities of costume. There is no particular costume: a pseudoclassical dress is dominant, but the memory of the *tallit* or *ziziot* of the first centuries has totally vanished.[24] The figures of Jewish origin (Bar Hanna, Jerome's teacher in Bethlehem, for example)[25] (Fig. 67) do not have Semitic features, and Ottonian art (like for example the Codex Rossanensis previously) adopts an Eastern model in its depiction of Jesus.[26]

The signs of infamy imposed by the Church in the thirteenth century[27] did not have a very significant effect on the Jews portrayed in iconography. They were reproduced with a cold indifference which made no attempt to reflect their deliberate purpose of debasement. A fourteenth-century miniature showing the expulsion of the Jews from France by Philippe Auguste in 1182[28] (Fig. 68) shows the *rouelle* clearly visible at the level of the belt.[29] In a fourteenth-century manuscript of the municipal Statutes of the town of Arles, fixing the modalities of the special oath of the Jews "*more judaico*" used in Western world, a Jew is drawn in a margin. His profile shows a hood and a pointed nose

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[24]W. Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1963, Vol. 1, band I/2 pp. 13–27, Pl. 50–53. F. Mutherich and J.E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976, pp. 72–74, Pl. 20.

[25]Vivian Bible, first Bible of Charles the Bald, Paris. BN Lat. 1, fol. 3 v. For Jerome and his Jewish teacher, see Chap. I n. 94.

[26]Codex Aureus of Echternach, Nuremberg Ger. Mus. Cod. AG 50, fol. 53, Mutherich and Gaehde *Carolingian Painting*, pp. 102–09, Pl. 35–38.

[27]But only after the Islamic world. Caliph Omar II (717–720) decided that all "dhimmis" should wear a distinctive mark of a different color for each minority group. This edict was reinforced by Caliph Al Mustaryakhil (842–861) and lasted for centuries. In Sicily, the Sarrazine governor ordered all Christians to wear a mark in the form of a pig, all Jews in the form of an ass.

[28]Brussels Bibl. Roy. Ms 6931, fol. 265: *Grandes Chroniques de France*, XIVth Century. Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, Fig. 17.

[29]The difference in height between the king, his assistant and the group of Jews can be explained by hierarchy. All the figures are painted in the noble and elegant style of the fourteenth century, though the small character in the foreground is an exception.

and prominent chin. He is easily recognizable through the *rota* on his coat (Fig. 69).[30]

English manuscripts of the thirteenth century, some of which are official documents,[31] show Jews wearing the *tabula*, a badge with the double rounded form of the Tables of the Law.[32] Although the texts are concerned with prohibiting the Jews in England from practising usury, some figures are full of dignity.[33] In other cases, however, the Jews, bearing the mark of the Law, are depicted as being untouched by Grace, as can be seen also in their physical appearance.[34] With its hooked nose, crooked expression and shaggy beard, the "Jewish profile" in these drawings is distinguished by a very obvious air of caricature which was destined to endure[35] (Figs. 70–71).

The *Judenhut*, the Jews' pointed hat, appears in the thirteenth century in stained-glass windows and miniatures. An inverted funnel, it is seen on the heads of groups of biblical Jews as well as of the Jews burning in the cauldron of Hell in the famous miniature of the *Hortus Deliciarium*[36] (Fig. 72). It appears on the Klosterneuburg altarpiece[37] (Fig. 73) and in the bas-relief on the rood-screen at Naumburg[38] dating from the thirteenth century.

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[30]Paris BN Lat. 4768 A, fol. 40 v. Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, Fig. 18.

[31]C. Roth, *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History*, Philadelphia, 1962. London BM Cotton Nero Ms D. 2, fol. 180 r, for example.

[32]For the difference between the original Jewish form of the Tablets of the Law and the Christian influences, see R. Mellinkoff, "The Round-topped Tablets of the Law: Sacred Symbol and Emblem of Evil," *JJA* I (1974), pp. 28–43.

[33]Z.E. Rokeah, *Drawings of Jewish Interest in Some Thirteenth-Century Public Records*," *Scriptorium* **26** (1972), pp. 55–63

[34]Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, Fig. 23; London Public Record Office E 159/42 Mem. 4 d. and Fig. 24, Coll. C. Roth.

[35]See London BM Add. 47682, fol. 27 v. in Mellinkoff, *The Round-Topped Tablets*, Fig. 20. Other examples from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, quite different from the noble and elegant profiles in the French miniatures seen before, can be found in Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, Figs. 25–27.

[36]Herrad of Landsberg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, ed. and trans. by A.D. Caratzas, comm. A. Straub and G. Keller, New Rochelle, NY, 1977, Pl. **LXXIII**, fol. 255.

[37]H. Buschausen, *Der Verduner Altar, Das Emailwerk des Nikolaus von Verdun im Stift Klosterneuburg*, Vienna, 1980.

[38]H. Beenken, *Der Meister von Naumburg*, Berlin, 1939.

In the miniatures of the *Bible Moralisée*, it systematically distinguishes the Jews[39] (Fig. 78).

B. Blumenkranz gives a few examples showing the pointed hat being worn by Jesus: it is treated as the external sign of his Jewish identity, without any permanent negative connotation for the artist.[40] Signs of identity of Jewish origin, however, are rare. Sometimes one finds a relic, in miniatures, of models which have probably not been understood: perhaps a memory of Aaron wearing *tefillin* in the Soissons Gospels or the Tournai Bible of 1084. Moses and Aaron, as in Byzantine art, are standing on either side of the objects of the Tabernacle: Aaron wears on his forehead a cube with straps around his head. This is one of the rare Western examples of *tefillin*.[41]

If the costume or even the distinctive sign which characterizes the Jew do not necessarily have a negative connotation, but reflect the reality—hostile to the Jew, no doubt, but having an objective existence—the same cannot be said about a certain number of characteristics and attributes which typify the image of the Jew and have their own value and significance.

The most striking of these characteristics, and the commonest, is the deformation of the features of the face, a tendency to caricature which does not depend on the vicissitudes of the artists' inspiration or the geographical area or the socio-economic circumstances, but which has an element of consistency in its distortions.[42]

The hooked-nosed Jew of the scrawled English caricatures initiated the typical Jewish "profile", of which there are frequent

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[39]Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, Figs. 38–41.

[40]Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, Fig. 153, for example.

[41]Tournai, Grand Seminaire Cod. 1, fol. 77 (eleventh century). P. Bloch, Nachwirkungen des Alten Bundes in der Christlichen Kunst," in *Monumenta Judaica* 2000 *Jahre Geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein*. Katalog einer Ausstellung im kölnischen Stadtmuseum, Cologne, 1963–64, Handbuch, pp. 735–81, Fig. 102.

[42]The existence of physical distortion in Jewish mediaeval manuscripts (such as birds' or animals' heads, blank features or hats covering the faces) relate to the prohibition of figurative art in Jewish iconography. For this fascinating question, see B. Narkiss, "On the Zoocephalic Phenomenon in Mediaeval Ashkenazi Manuscripts," in *Norms and Variations in Art*, HSULA, Jerusalem, 1983, pp. 50–62.

examples[43] in French and English manuscripts[44] (Figs. 74 and 75). This representation showed the Jew with an open jaw, a gaping mouth, carnivorous teeth, a dark skin, a beak-like nose, facial blemishes and warts.[45] The Jew is ugly, heavy, thick-lipped, bestial—in short, repulsive. Differentiated from others by physical characteristics which resemble those of animals, and this at a period when beauty was so highly prized, he is a human caricature who first draws one's attention and then causes one to turn away in horror.

Ugliness is one of the characteristics of the Devil, who is horrible and frightening.[46] The Jew is ugly, so he must be a prey to Satan. From the touching little character wearing a *rouelle* whose eyes are blinded by a little demon[47] (Fig. 76) to the Jew straddled by a horned devil and preached to by God himself[48] (Fig. 77), the road was a long one and strewn with inventive additions.[49] It naturally had the expected ending: the punishment in store for the person in thrall to Satan—Hell.

Western art multiplied occasions of reserving Jews a special place in scenes of the Last Judgment. In *Bibles Moralisées* and Psalters at Bourges and Reims, the Jews are precipitated by little black demons into the open jaw of the Beast[50] (Fig. 78). They roast in torment (Fig. 72), wearing the *Judenhut* and neatly arranged in a cauldron placed on the fire, in the miniature of the *Hortus Deliciarium* which Herrade of Landsberg intended for the edification of her nuns.[51] In this depiction of about 1175, the Jews were pushed into the flames by demons with terrible grins who even used a fork for the purpose. On the cauldron was the

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[43]Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, Figs 27, 32, 33, 105, 106.

[44]R. Mellinkoff, "Cain and the Jews," *JJA* 6 (1979), pp. 16–38.

[45]R. Mellinkoff, "Judas' Red Hair and the Jews," *JJA* 9 (1982), pp. 31–46, Fig. 4; Manchester John Rylands Lib. Lat 24, fol. 150.

[46]See J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism*, Cleveland and New York, 1961 (first ed. 1943).

[47]Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, Fig. 78.

[48]Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, Fig. 57.

[49]See later in this chapter for the representations of the Devil and the Synagogue, Figs 76–77, 79–85. Litterary sources to this mediaeval theme are analysed by A. Linder, *Ecclesia and Synagoga*, chap. In. 7.

[50]P. Vitry, *Die Gotische Plastik Frankreichs* 1226–1270, Florence, 1929, Pl. 47–54. Blumenkranz *Le Juif*, Figs. 39, 41, 44.

[51]*Hortus Deliciarum*, fol. 255.

inscription "*Judei*". What terrible reminders of the real stakes which burnt in Europe. And what an invitation, in its very precision, to kindle those fires.

There was not the slightest shadow of a doubt of the Jews' guilt, for the justification of the punishment was there, in the Jews' very attributes. First of all, in their history. They were murderers since Cain: just as Cain killed his brother Abel at the beginning of time, so the Jews killed Jesus and, like Cain, were marked with a sign. The identification is clear in the many examples given by Mellinkoff where text and image combine to associate the murder and the sign of infamy (Fig. 79).[52] The Jews were traitors like Judas, and iconography did not fail to insist on the "Jewish characteristics" of the apostle.[53]

Moreover, morally, the Jews were held to be depraved beings. They worshipped money,[54] and were lecherous to a point which provoked horror and derision.[55] The myth of the *Judensau* (Fig. 80–81), which arose in the Middle Ages and whose iconographical traces survived into the eighteenth century and reappeared in Nazi iconography, must be seen in relation to the problems which preoccupied the Church in the first centuries, and above all, perhaps, in relation to the Maccabee "saints." The Jews resembled the most hideous beasts of Creation.[56] In a word, they embodied in themselves all the vices of humanity.[57]

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[52]R. Mellinkoff, *Cain and the Jews*, Figs. 2, 6, 7, 24, 30, 31.

[53]The prayer "Oratio pro Perfidis Judaeis" was suppressed only by the Vatican Council II in 1962. See J. Isaac, *The Teaching of Contempt: Christian Roots of Antisemitism*, New York, 1964. R. Mellinkoff, "Judas' red hair," Figs. 5–7.

[54]Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*. Fig. 37 (See, for example, the German woodcut from the sixteenth century showing Rabbi Josselman of Rosheim holding a purse full of money as he stands before the golden calf, EJ **3** p. 139, Fig. 9b).

[55]Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, p. 67, Fig. 73; Shachar, *The "Judensau"*, London, 1974.

[56]A French bestiary of the thirteenth century (Paris BN MS Fr 14969, fol. 13) compares a group of Jews wearing pointed hats, holding tablets of the Law and led away by a devil, to the "foul and stinking" raven. Cited by Mellinkoff, "The round-topped Tablets," p. 37, Fig. 18.

[57]There is a whole encyclopedia of vices in the text quoted by Mellinkoff. There seems to be no need to recall how close this theme is to the roots of Nazi iconography in the twentieth century.

From here, it was but a short step to the illustration of the myth of the desecration of the host[58] and that of ritual murder[59] which derived from it. They culminated in a simultaneous translation into images of all caricatures and all lies, always taking to greater extremes the terrible impact of the deformed image of the Jew. But it was not only (if one may say so) the image of the Jew as an individual or as a people which became the symbol of all the vices. The figure of Judaism itself, of the very source of the Christian faith, was also deformed by the attacks of an accusatory mythology.

The Western image of Ecclesia and Synagoga very soon left its original context of the Carolingian ivories[60] (Fig. 82). The veiled Synagogue,[61] with falling Tablets of the Law and a broken flagstaff, is present on all the portals of Gothic churches[62] (Fig. 83) and in many stained-glass windows[63] (Fig. 84). Originally a theological concept, she very soon became an act of accusation. Her persistence was no longer regarded as an act of faith, but as a satanic path of error. She was blinded by the Devil,[64] in the form of a snake entwined around her face or a winged and horned creature sitting on her shoulders. In Chartres, a stained-glass window shows her with her eyes pierced by an arrow shot by a little demon standing at her feet (Fig. 85).[65] Moreover, she was directly accused of responsibility for the death of Jesus: as in the desecration of the host, she takes the place of the soldier who wields the lance and herself pierces the side of the lamb (Fig. 86). This theme of piercing was superimposed on the drama of the

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[58]This legend was still the theme of Italian Renaissance painting. Paolo Ucello painted his *Profanation of the Host* in Urbino in 1468 (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche).

[59]See art. "Blood Libel" in the *Encyl. Judaica*, vol. 4, p. 1119 and, for example, German woodcuts of the fifteenth century, p. 1122. The legend of Simon of Trent and its illustration is but one example of these murderous myths which lasted into the twentieth century (Fig. 2).

[60]Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, Figs 2–6. Synagoga turns around and goes away.

[61]Lam. 5: 16–17; Corinth. II 3: 13–16. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, Fig. 25.

[62]Strasbourg, Reims, Bourges, Bamberg etc. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, Fig. 32 to 43.

[63]Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, Figs. 28, 26, 30.

[64]Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, Fig. 22; Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, Fig. 55.

[65]Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, Fig. 20.

Passion (with the accusation of deicide—for which the Jews and not the Roman soldiers were held responsible) and the contemporary mediaeval drama of anti-Jewish hatred, for it was the Jew, with the physical and moral characteristics we have described, who stood in for the Synagogue and was said to be guilty of the death of Jesus (Fig. 87).[66]

It only remained for the allegorical figure representing the Synagogue to be associated with the moral vices which characterized the Jews as individuals. Ruled by her instincts, she held the horns of a billy-goat, (Fig. 88)[67] symbol of her impurity, or was depicted half-naked;[68] sitting backwards on an ass which was looking for its halter[69] (Fig. 89), and still holding a goat, she provided (once again in Herrade von Landsberg's miniatures) the very image of impurity wedded to a denial of faith. We hardly need to multiply examples any further. Others, specialists in the history of Western art, have that sad task.

The Jew and his Image

Byzantine imagery, on the other hand, does not have this distorted character. Byzantine art reflects an image of the Jew which is illustrative and not moralizing, descriptive and not accusatory. Although it was as totally dependent on the Church and its patronage as that of the West, Byzantine art differed completely from Western art in its treatment of the Jew. This applied as much to details, resulting from the copying of models, as to the intentions underlying the images.

In contrast to the neutrality of the paleo-Christian images, where the only exotic note was in relation to the priestly function represented by the person of Melchizedek, the works of the sixth century or those whose models go back to that period, show a

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[66]Ibid., Figs. 18–65.

[67]Ibid., Figs. 29–42.

[68]Particularly the nude and impudent Synagoga in the church of Asla in Norvegia (Blumenkranz, *Le Juif*, Fig. 108) which relates quite clearly with the themes of the anti-Jewish polemics whose seeds were planted by John Chrysostom (see pp. 23–5 above) and with the most obscene representations of the myth of the *Judensau*.

[69]*Hortus Deliciarum*, Symbolic Crucifixion, fol. 150.

desire for precision and authenticity in the representation of the Jew.

The depiction of the *tallit* and, above all, the *tefillin*—which, after all, are minor details—demonstrates that Byzantine art was connected with an ancient model displaying a profound knowledge of the inner values of the Jewish world and the observance of the *mizvot*. As in Jewish art (but there it is found later, as we pointed out, probably because manuscripts disappeared), the representation of the Jew was characterized not by signs of infamy, but by signs of identity. These, deliberately, freely and voluntarily adopted by the Jews as symbols of their obedience to their Creator, were rooted in Jewish tradition. They were almost totally unknown in Western art. They almost never had negative characteristics, even of a secondary nature.

The signs of infamy were unknown to the Byzantine Church, which made no attempt to "mark" the Jews in order to keep them away from the Christians. It was thus natural that no trace of them is to be found in Byzantine art. Nor does one find there a deformation of facial features or a distortion of profiles suggesting carnivorous animals.

Was Byzantium unacquainted with caricature? We have seen the few rare examples, in the Chludov Psalter and in Athos Psalter Pant 61. Infidels with faces like Silenes and heretics with long drooping tongues and shaggy hair, are seldom labeled Jews, and their caricatural features proclaim their identity: they are "unbelievers" who do not recognize the true faith, and are viewed as such. They do not constitute a group identified by special vestimentary signs and which thus carry the negative onus of an iconographic connotation. The Byzantine examples, moreover, are very few in number, and so little connected with the Jews that they only confirm the profound identification of the hideous Western caricature. No suggested association with the Devil (although this exists in the case of heretics) appears in the Byzantine images, either to illustrate blindness and unbelief or to explain obstinacy and denial.

If the Byzantine depictions of the Last Judgment, explicit though they are, "forget" to identify Jews among the wretches cast into Gehenna, it is not for lack of imagination, for they include bishops and emperors. The representations of the

sections of Hell are detailed and precise, flames envelop the condemned souls, but Byzantium never distinguishes between the Jews and other representatives of the damned.

There is no lack of negative characters in Byzantium, and they possess a strong initial potentiality in which patristic texts play their part. However, Cain appears only in a historical and illustrative context in the manuscripts, and Judas is only one apostle among others, playing his terrible role, but without any iconographical "overload". Even Jephonias—the apocryphal model of the unbelieving and obstinate Jew whose punishment is related in the text—even he, seemingly predestined for a negative treatment, is neither distorted in Byzantine iconography, nor represented with hatred.

Finally, the theological opposition of the Byzantine personifications of the Church and Synagogue is represented by an angel who takes sides and gets rid of the Synagogue, thrusting her out of the scene. The theological basis of these images is, of course, unacceptable, even for the Christians for whom the Jewish foundations of Christianity must be an incontrovertible fact. But in Byzantium, the allegorical figure of the Synagogue does not have her eyes pierced by the Devil's arrows, she is not straddled by a little horned demon, she does not clasp the horns of a goat, she is not shown sitting backwards on an ass and she is not depicted in a pose of indecent semi-nakedness. In the Byzantine representation of the Church and Synagogue there is no negative overload, no satanic association, moral judgment or caricature of parabolic implications.

We may go further still. Byzantium refrained from transposing into images myths and legends which did, in fact, exist and then disappeared. Even the importance given to the icon, and its sacralization, did not cause the Jews to be associated with it and accused of its profanation. Neither the theme of Jewish cupidity, nor the Jews' alleged lack of moral values, nor myths of popular origin like that of the *Judensau* appear in Byzantine art.

Nothing in Byzantine iconography can compare with the terrible Western catalogue. Nothing in the work of the Byzantine artist—in his careful, arduous pursuit of ancient models, in his desire to transmit them—caused him to swerve from his task and

to pass judgment. Whatever the political, theological and ecclesiastical conditions, he continued serenely on his way.

There is a fundamental, essential difference between the image of the Jew and of Judaism in the Byzantine mediaeval world and in that of Western Europe. It is the difference between a falsely objective pictorial indictment, loaded with malignant theological and moral argumentation and the search for a true depiction (even if the truth was not that of reality, but of spirituality) based on the sacred text, a restrained image of the ever living world of the Old Testament and the faithful transmission of models.

Conclusion

A Reflection or a Distortion?

At the end of this study, which in fact is only a sketch for a much larger catalogue, a more comprehensive classification of the Byzantine images, the first observation to be made is that of a *difference.*

The image of the Jew in the Byzantine world is fundamentally different from that of the Jew in the West. Totally, profoundly original, it contains neither exaggeration nor caricature. It degenerates neither into moralizing nor accusation, nor, still less, into hatred. It is a precious and living testimony to rich contacts with the Jewish world, with the sources of a tradition deeply rooted in the life of the Jewish communities of the Mediterranean world. The Byzantine artists bore witness to it, sometimes long afterwards, through successive copies; they nevertheless make this phenomenon an infinitely valuable milestone on the difficult road to the reconstruction of Jewish life in the first centuries of Christianity.

Moreover, for the art historian, such a study is essential to understand the process of iconographical transmission. A classification of types and themes can doubtless elucidate the origins of miniatures and contribute to a solution of the problem of the Jewish sources of Byzantine miniatures.

There was a socio-cultural difference in the very approach to Jewish-Christian relations in Byzantium: a desire for the internal peace of the Empire often influenced the decrees of the *basilei* and prevented an exacerbation of tension. Byzantine society, moreover, was a culturally pluralistic one where many ethnic groups lived side by side. The Jews were only one amongst others. They were artisans, tradesmen, scholars, physicians: they were not

compelled to become—as the only professional occupation left open to them—bankers and usurers. For that very reason, they were not the object of jealousy, envy or hated dependence.

There was a difference in the relationship of the Church and the Byzantine Empire towards its Jews. Contacts between scholars and a common love of the sacred texts were doubtless important factors, but there was also an element of agreement which probably overrode, at a certain point, differences: the common front against their real enemy, the Crusaders. There, Jews and Byzantines found and recognized one another after the schism, and throughout the period of Crusader harrassment up to the sacking of Constantinople.

There was a difference also with regard to the people, no doubt more deeply spiritual than in the West. There was a liturgy closer to its sources, with continual biblical references and without any incitation to hatred. There was a more moderate religious theatre, though of limited scope. There were fewer popular legends, without murderous myths which spread and were exaggerated; and, after the first centuries, there were few inflammatory sermons in churches.

Finally, in the area of pure iconography, Byzantium was always closer to the texts. The living tradition of the Old Testament manifested in the Jewish people and its existence in the Byzantine world favored the maintenance of the relationship between the word and the image. The anti-Jewish patristic commentaries and texts of the first centuries were never illustrated, while many other patristic writings and homilies were.

Does one have, here, a reflection or a distortion? The image of the Jew is the mirror of a nation's soul. The distortion was that of a tormented world, disfigured by its own excesses and internal contradictions, which projected an image of the Jew contorted by hatred and a fear of real confrontation—an expression of the most hideous of iconographical deformations. The reflection was that of the rich life of an environment which was not without its dramas and conflicts, but which recognized the value of the Jewish presence in the continuity of the Word and bore witness to it by means of visual transcription.

Byzantium and its art were, and remain, the reflection of a Jewish life which, although undoubtedly difficult, buffeted and

subject to dark periods, was of an intensity and a luminosity which shine forth in the authenticity of the images.

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Glossary

Arbaa'h Turim: a compilation of codified talmudic and rabbinical decisions by Jacob ben Asher (*c.* 1270–1343).

Ashkenazi: from Ashkenaz, Germany. The Jewish communities from German origin and, by extension, those of Eastern Europe and their traditions.

Bima: raised pulpit from which the Torah is read in the synagogue.

Cohen (pl. cohanim): descendants of the tribe of Levi who functioned as priests since Aaron in the service of the Tabernacle and the Temple.

Cohen-ha-Gadol: High priest: the only human being who could penetrate the Holy of Holiest and that only once a year, at Yom Kippur.

Gemara: see *Talmud.*

Haggadah (pl. haggadot): ensemble of biblical texts and liturgical poems related to the signification of the feast of *Pessa'h.*

Halakhah (pl. halakhot): a legal decision obtained after rabbinical discussion, in the Talmud or by later scholars.

Hazan: leader of the liturgical service in the synagogue.

Mazzah (pl. mazzot): unlevened bread eaten during the seven days of Pessa'h; it was also part of the

	sacrificial ritual and offerings in the Temple.
Menorah:	the golden seven-branched lamp, which burnt in the Tabernacle and the Temple.
Miz'vah (pl. mizvot):	a commandment of the Law.
Mishnah:	see *Talmud.*
Mishne Torah:	extensive work of the compilation of the Law written by Maimonides (Moshe ben Maimon; 1135–1204).
Miznefet:	the miter worn by the Cohen-ha-Gadol according to biblical instructions (Ex. 28:35–39).
Pessa'h (Engl. Passover):	pilgrimage feast commemorating the exodus from Egypt and symbolizing deliverance and liberty. *Mazzah* is eaten instead of bread during its seven days.
Piyyut (pl. piyyutim):	Hebrew liturgical poem, dating back to Eretz-Israel of the fourth to the sixth century, and particularly in use during the Middle Ages.
Seder:	(Heb. "order") familial ceremony of the first night of *Pessa'h* (and the second in the Diaspora), which includes the recitation of the *Haggadah.*
Sefer Torah (pl. Sfire Torah):	manuscript scroll of the Pentateuch, used for public lecture, and written with very strict regulations prohibiting decoration or changes of any kind.
Sepharadi:	from Sepharad, Spain. The Jewish communities from Spain and North Africa and their traditions.
Siddur:	daily prayer book, for weekdays and Shabath.

Shavuot: pilgrimage feast, commemorating the Giving of the Law to the Jewish people.

Tefillin: also (wrongly) called phylacteries. Small cases of black leather affixed on the forehead (*tefila shel rosh*) and the left arm (*tefila shel yad*) of the Jewish men during morning prayers. Contain the texts of Deut. 6:4–9, 11:13–21 and Ex. 13:1–10 and 11–16.

Tallit (pl. tallitot): a striped garment, with fringes (*ziziot*) at each of its four corners, worn by Jewish men for prayer (Numbers 15:38–41).

Talmud: the Oral Law: code constituted by the *Mishnah* and the *Gemara*, the latter being interpretative of the first.
The *Mishnah* is a collection of discussions and interpretations of the Bible by the *Tanna'im*, and was edited in Hebrew by R. Judah ha-Nasi during the third century.
The *Gemara* is the work of generations of scholars, the *Amora'im*, and written in Aramaic.
The Palestinian (or Jerusalem) Talmud was compiled during the fourth century.
The Babylonian Talmud, predominant in volume and importance, was completed during the eighth century.

Tanna'im: doctors of the Law and scholars whose teachings and discussions compose the *Mishnah*.

Yom-Kippur: feast of Purification and Atonement (Lev. 23:26–32); a day of integral fast and prayer.

Zizit (pl. ziziot): fringes on the four corners of the *tallit*, according to Numbers 15:38–41.

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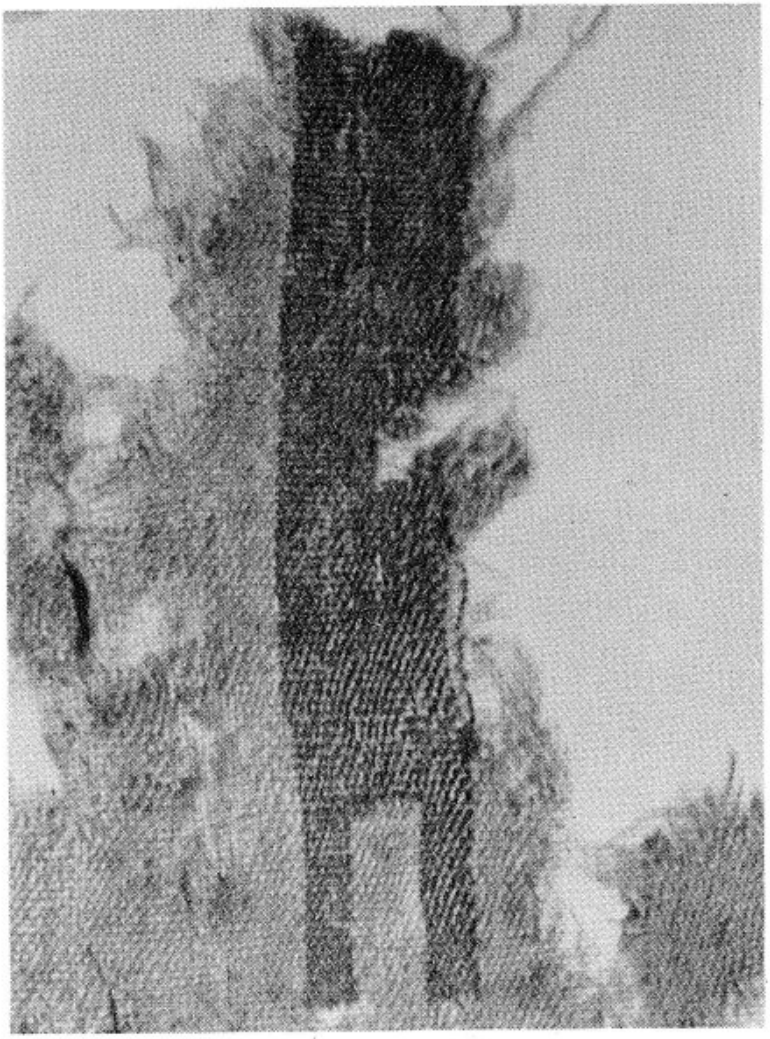


Plate I Fragment of fabric (*tallit*) found in the Judean caves (second century)

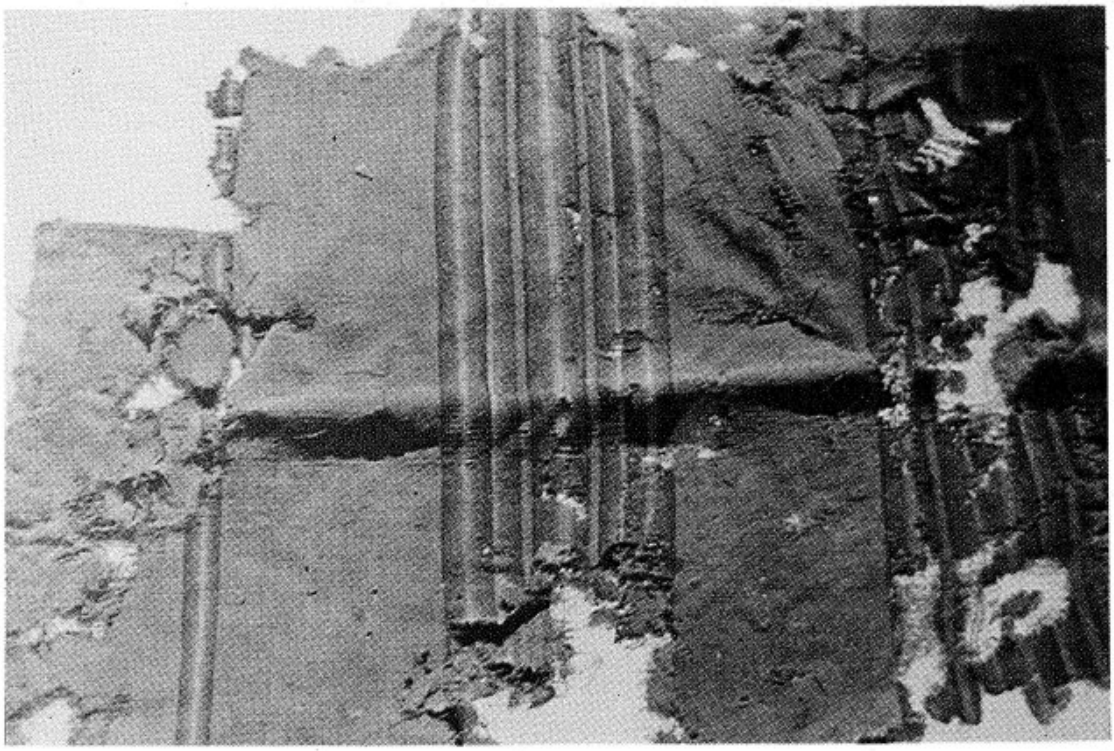
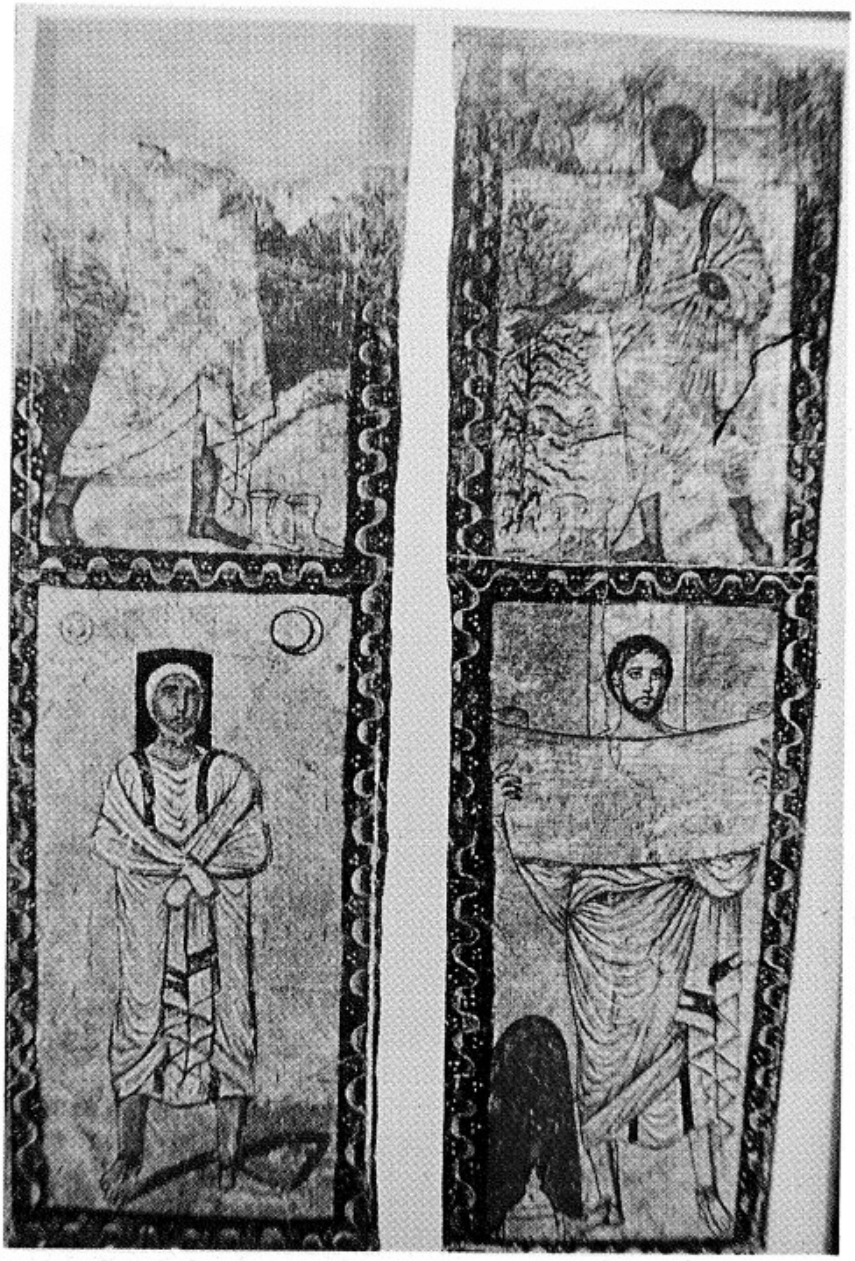


Plate II Fragment of fabric (*tallit*) found in the Judean caves (second century)



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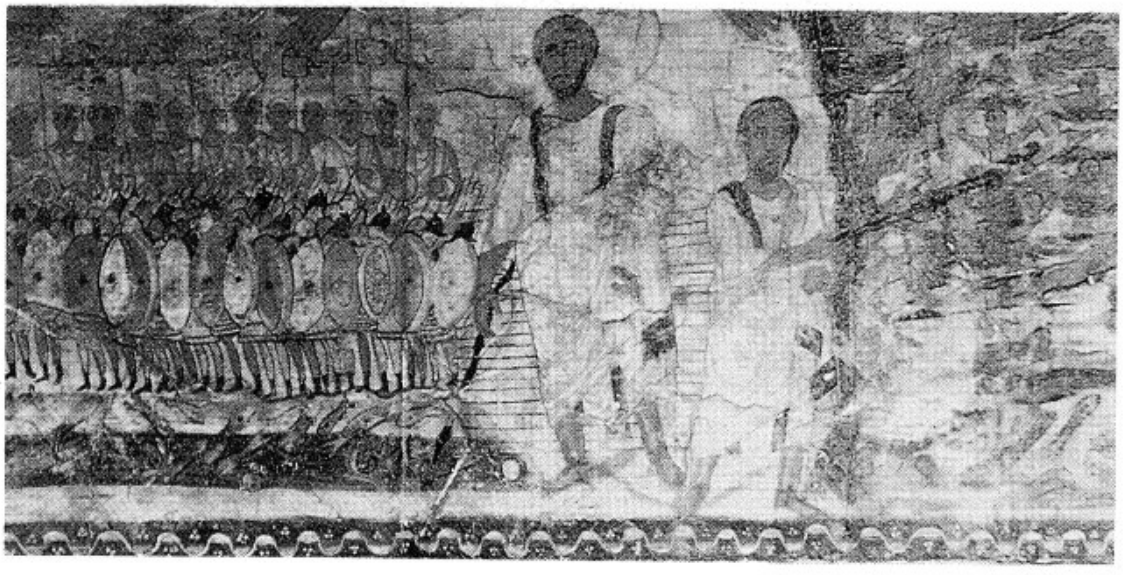
Dura–Europos synagogue, the four panels over the Torah shrine (244–245)



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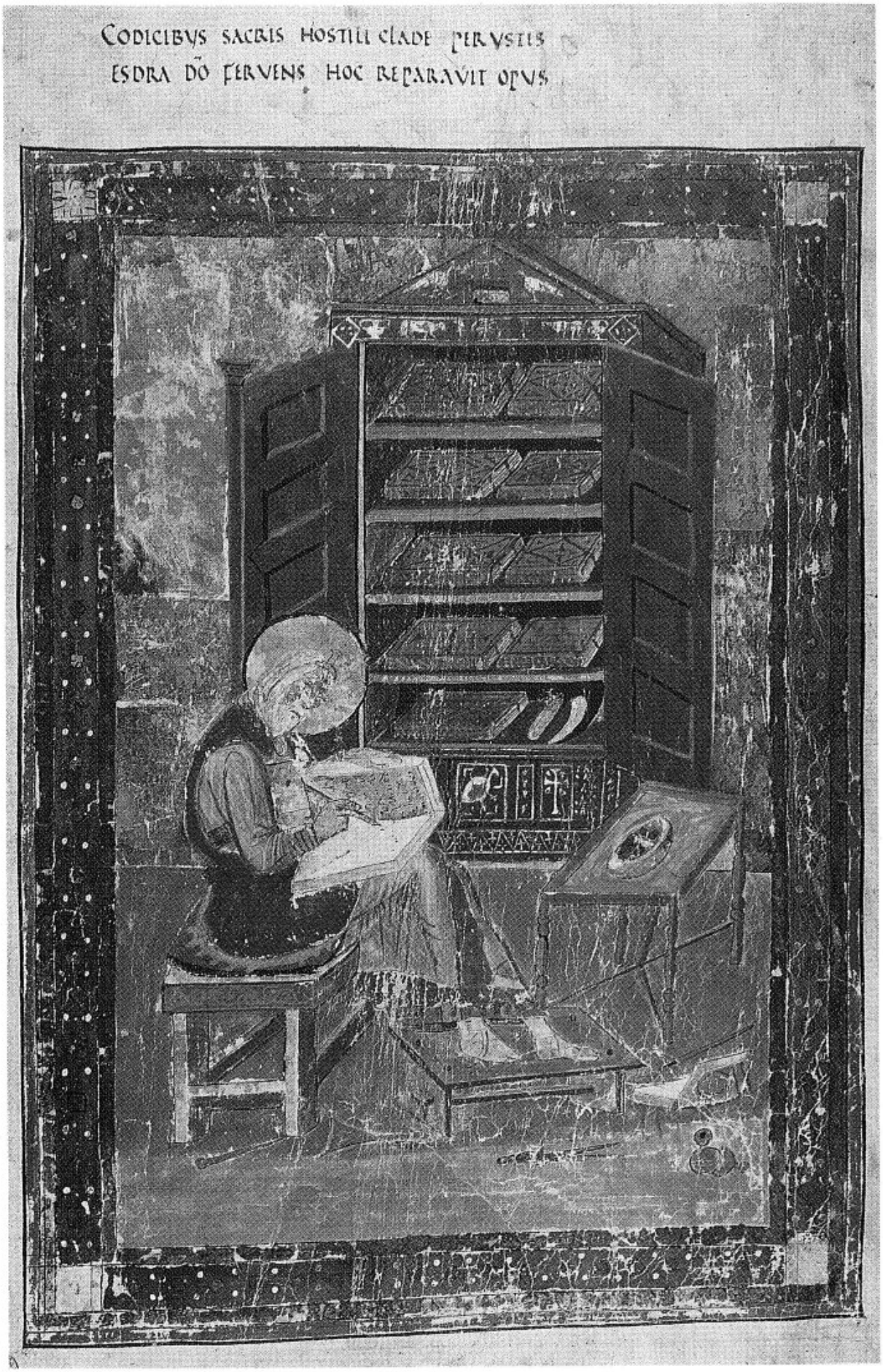

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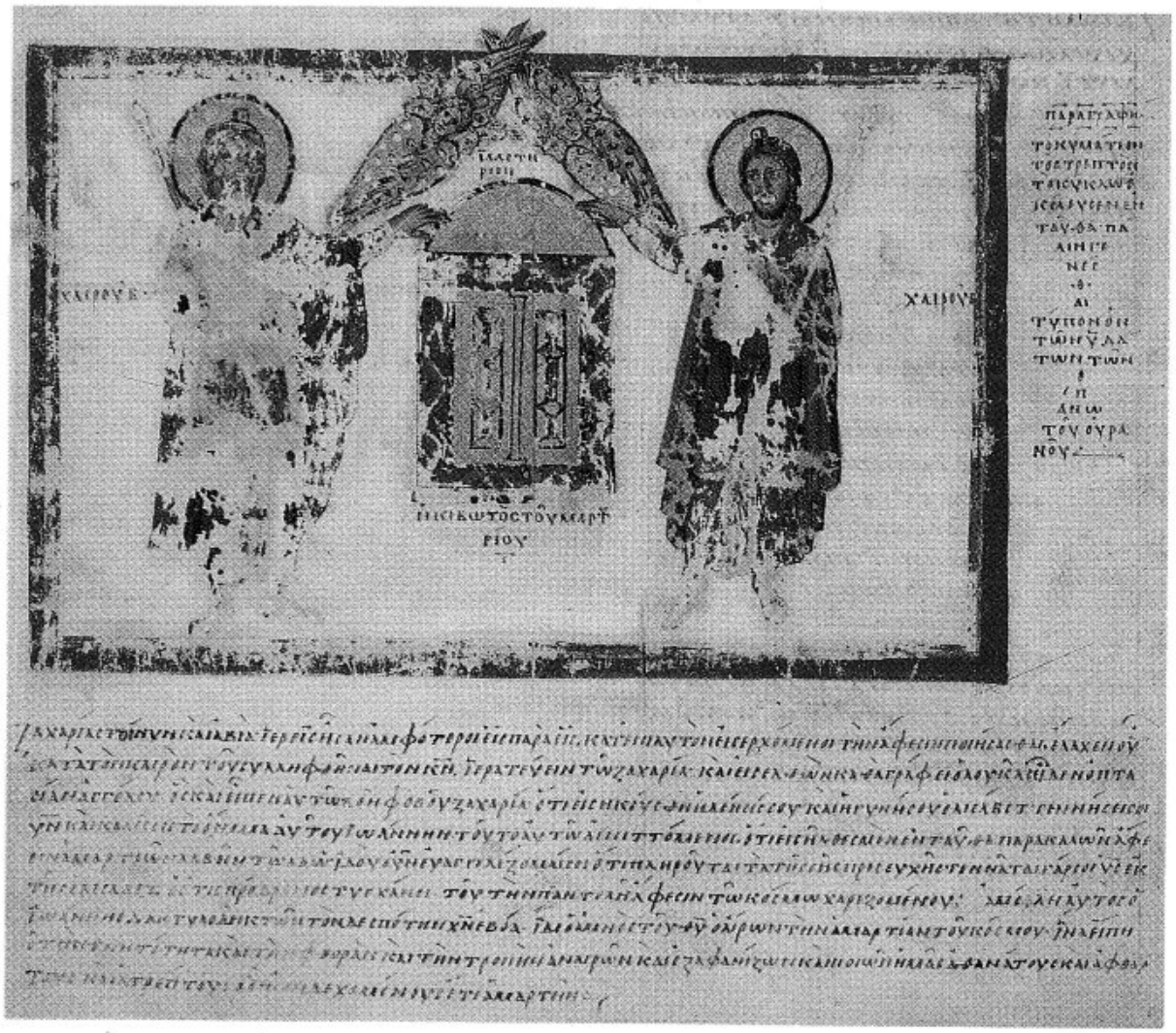

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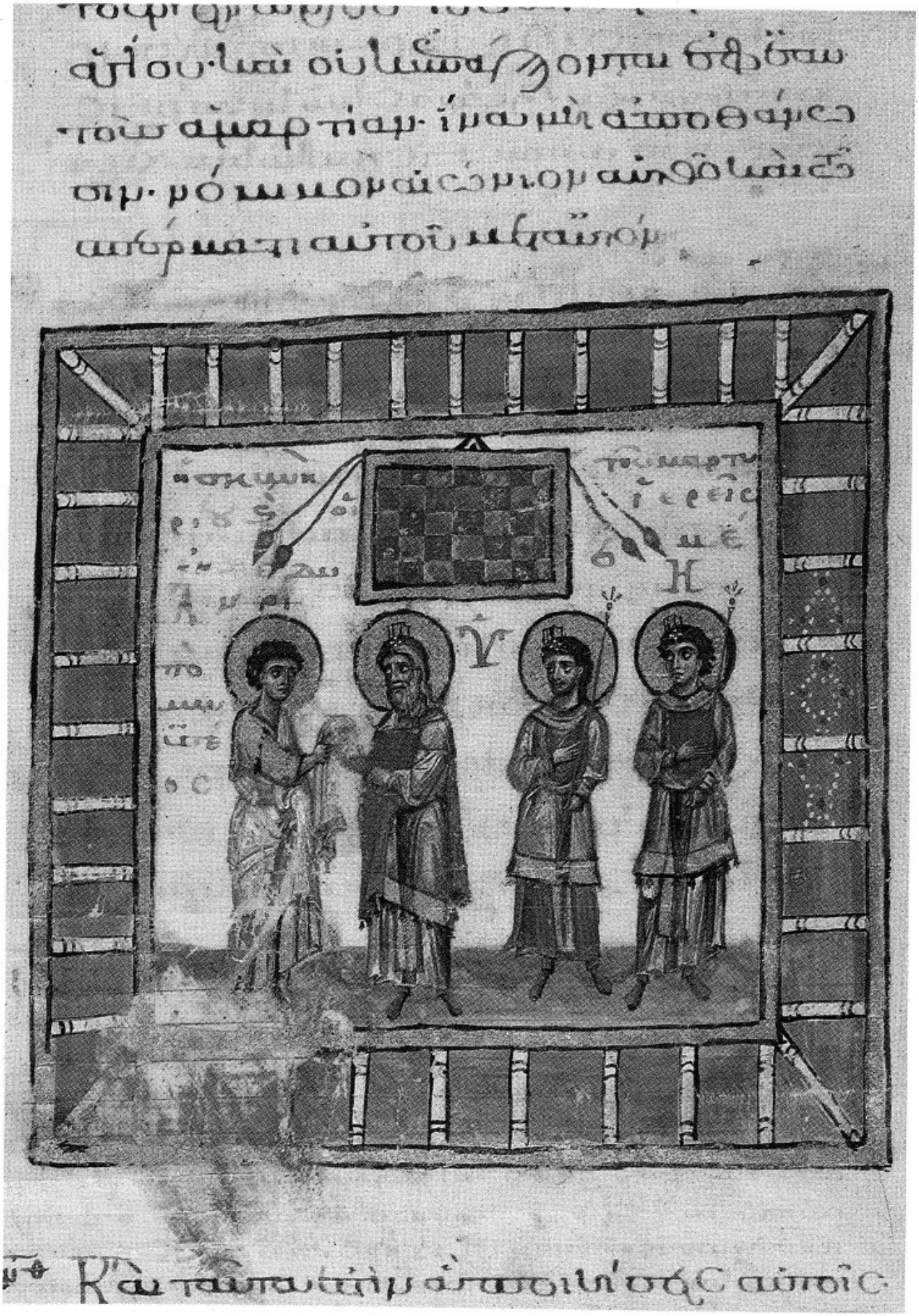

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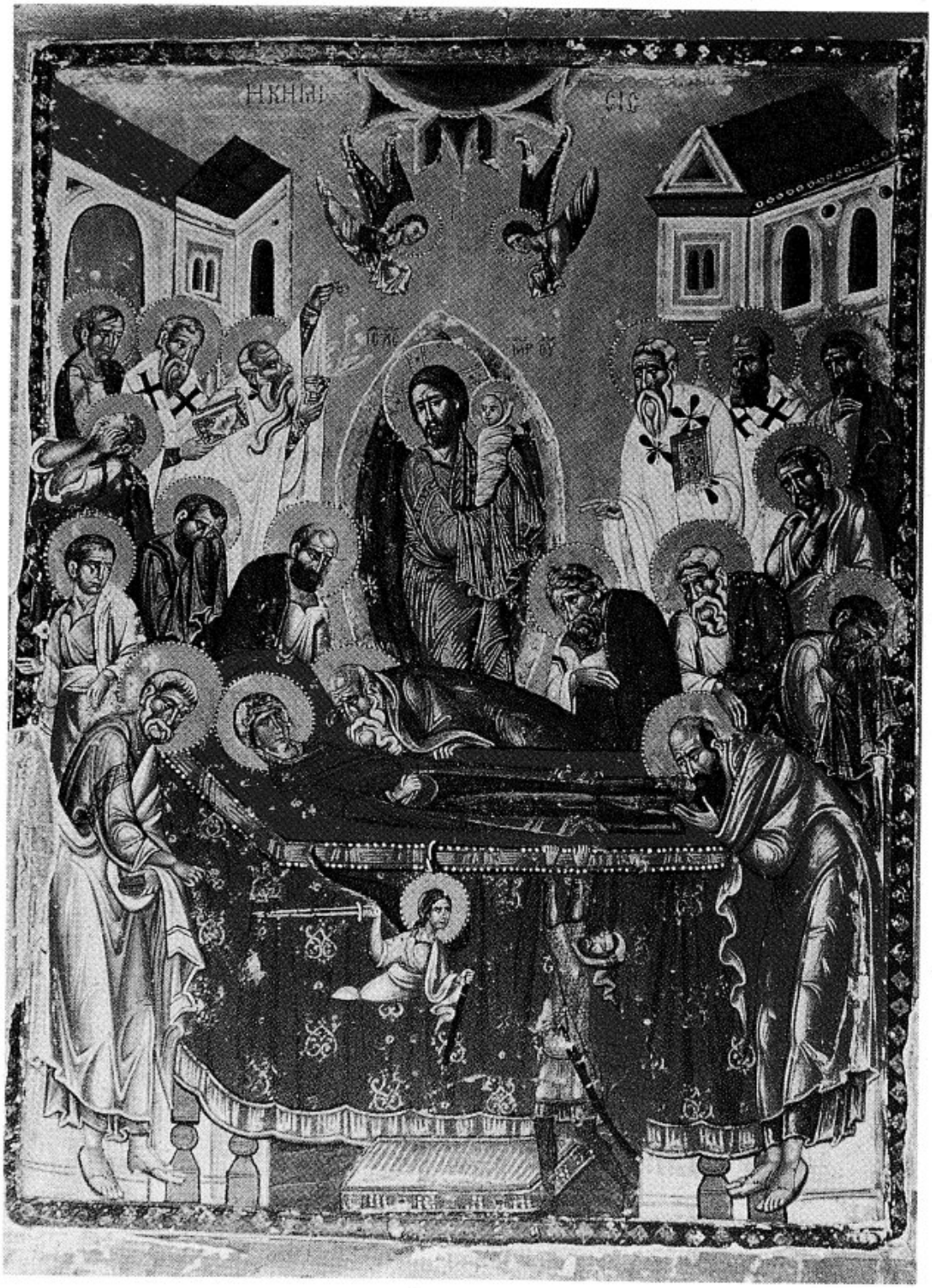

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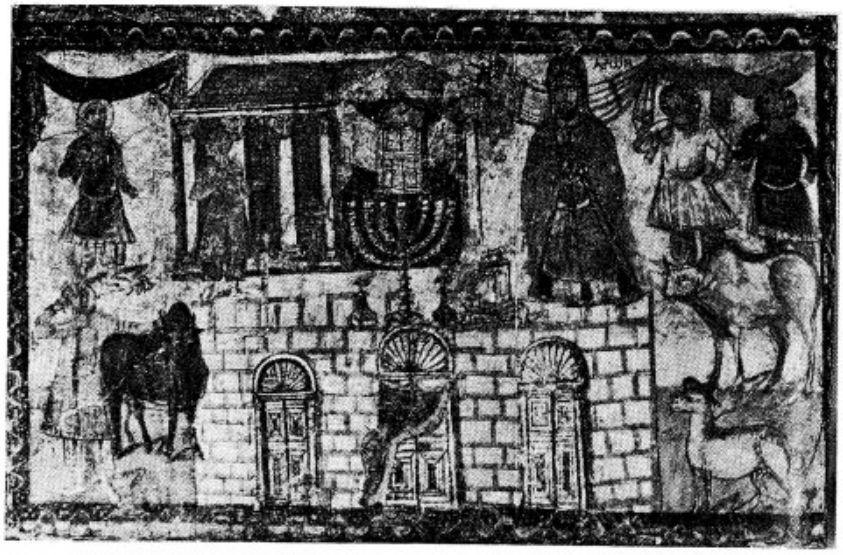

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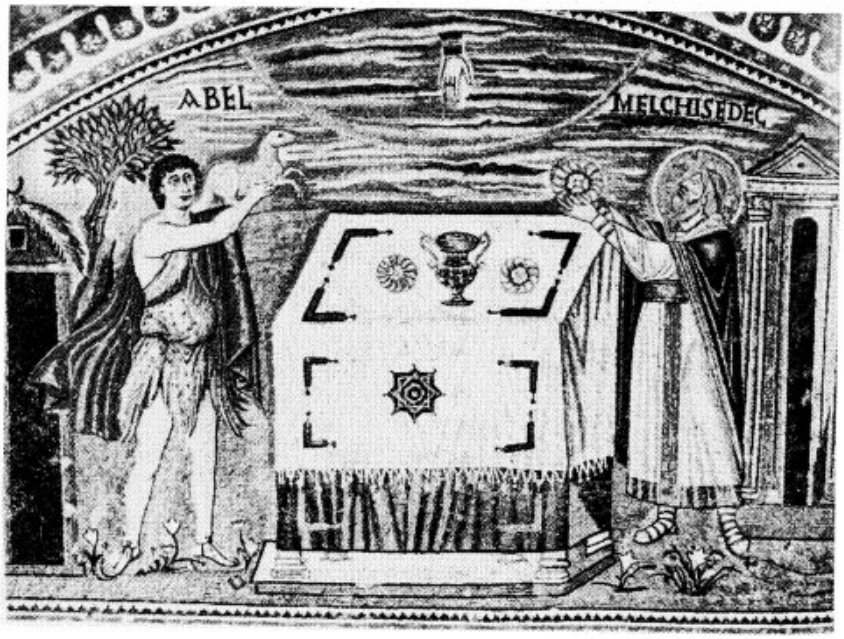

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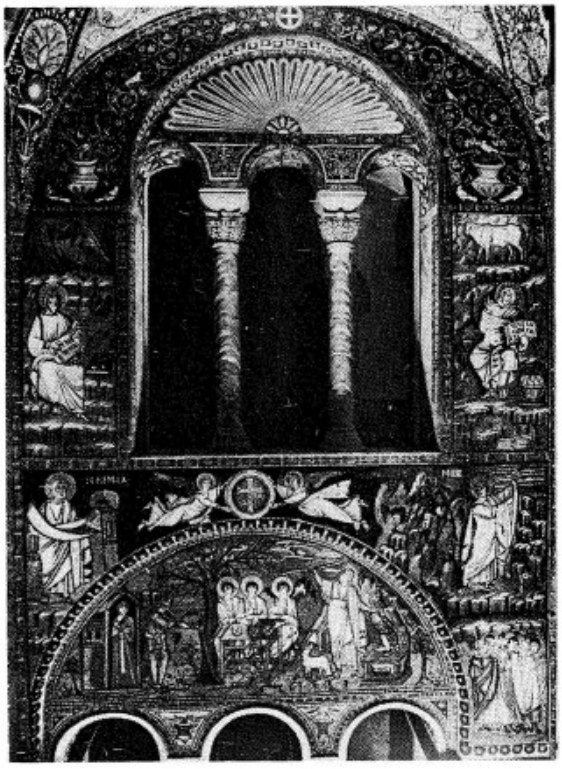

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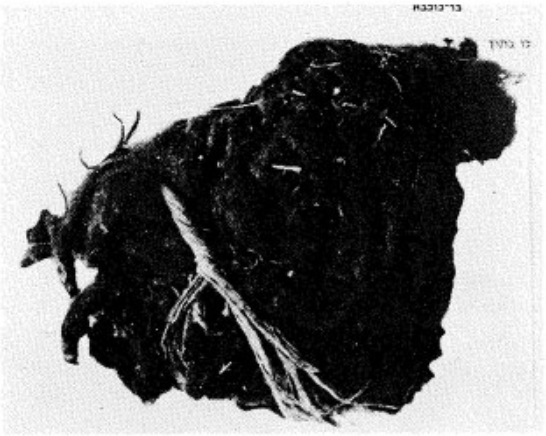

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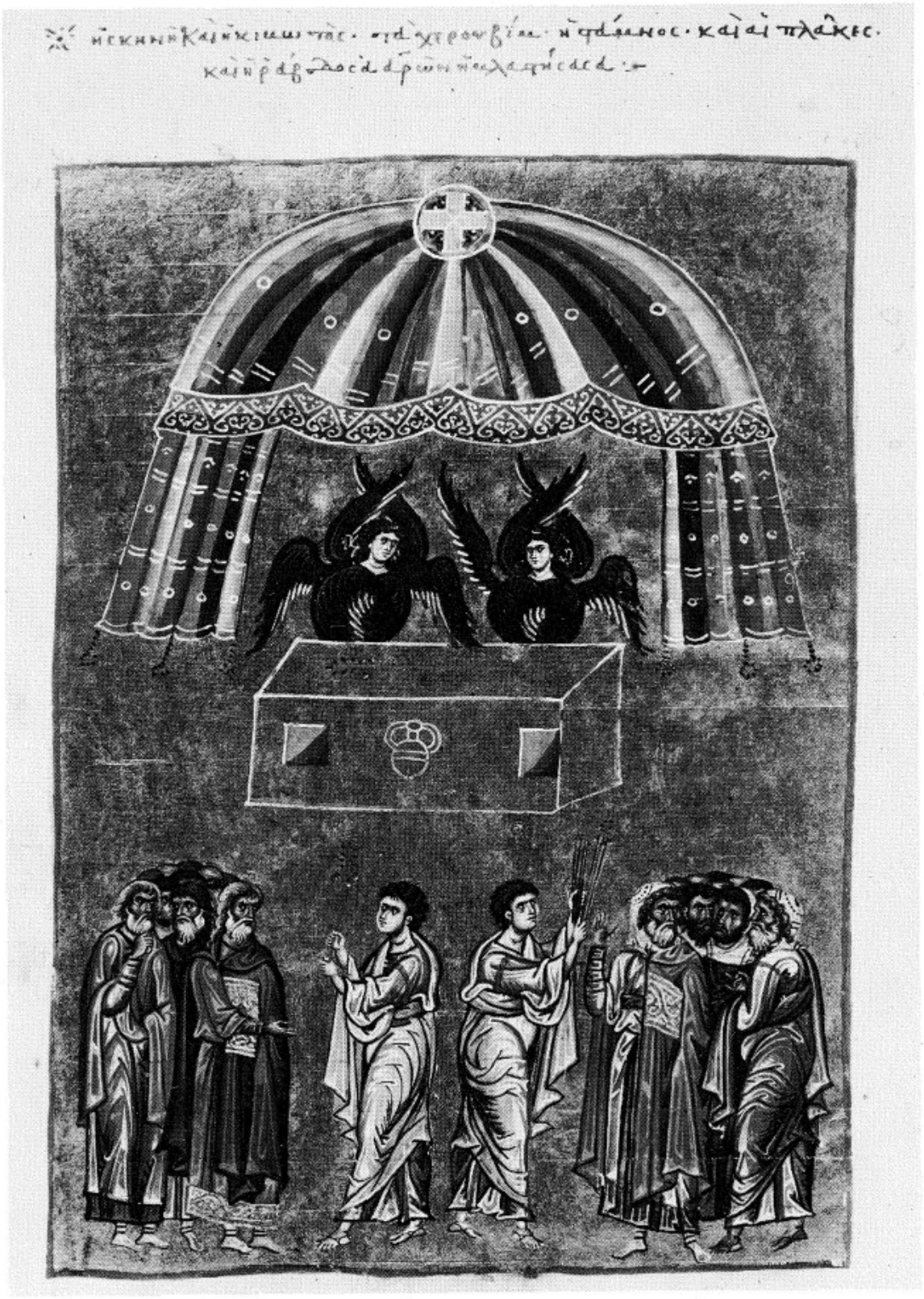

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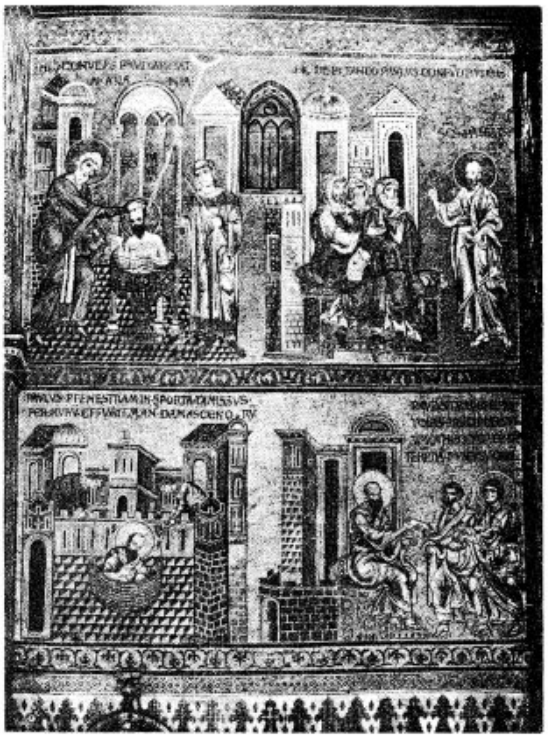


Fig. 36 Monreale, Duomo, Story of Paul (twelfth century)

Fig. 35 Rome, Bib. Vat. Gr. 752. fol. 195 v (twelfth century)

Fig. 37 Venice, S. Mark, Ezekiel (thirteenth century)

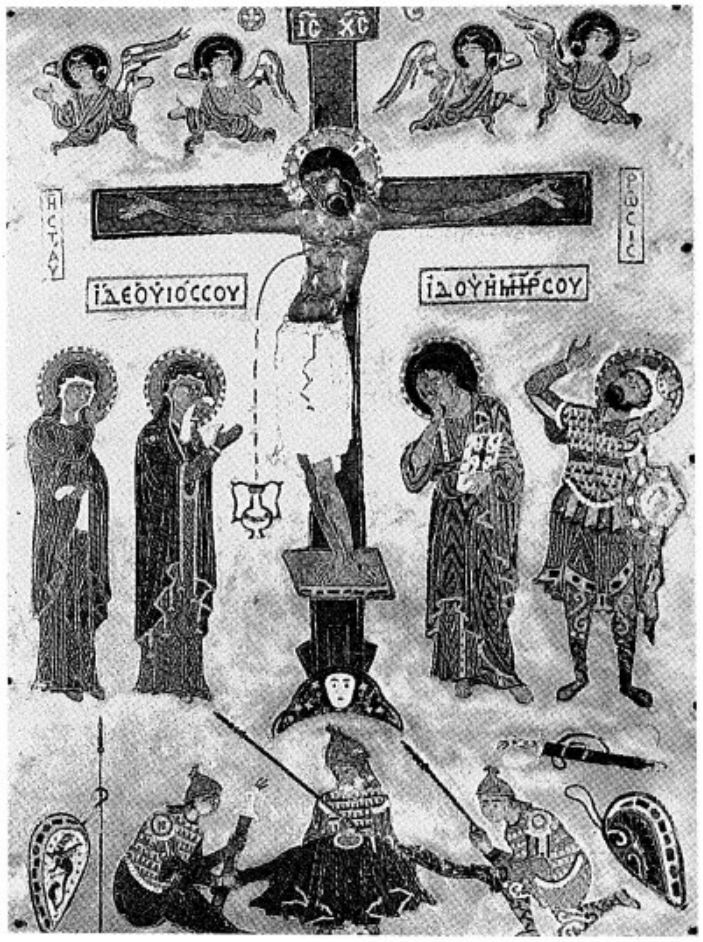


Fig. 38 Munich, Reiche Chapel, enamel, Crucifixion (twelfth century)

Fig. 40 Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 923, fol. 314 (ninth century)

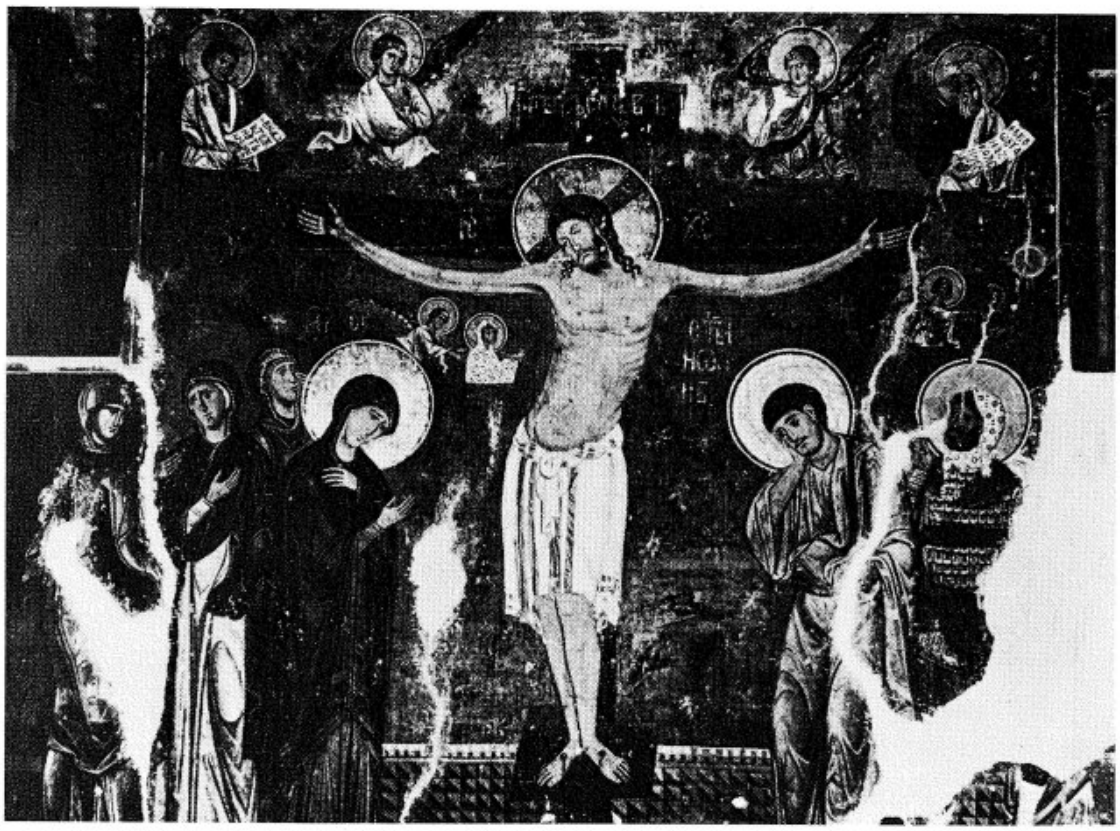


Fig. 39 Studenitsa, Nemanja Church, Crucifixion (thirteenth century)

Fig. 41 Rome, Bib. Vat. Gr. 747, fol. 25 v (eleventh century)

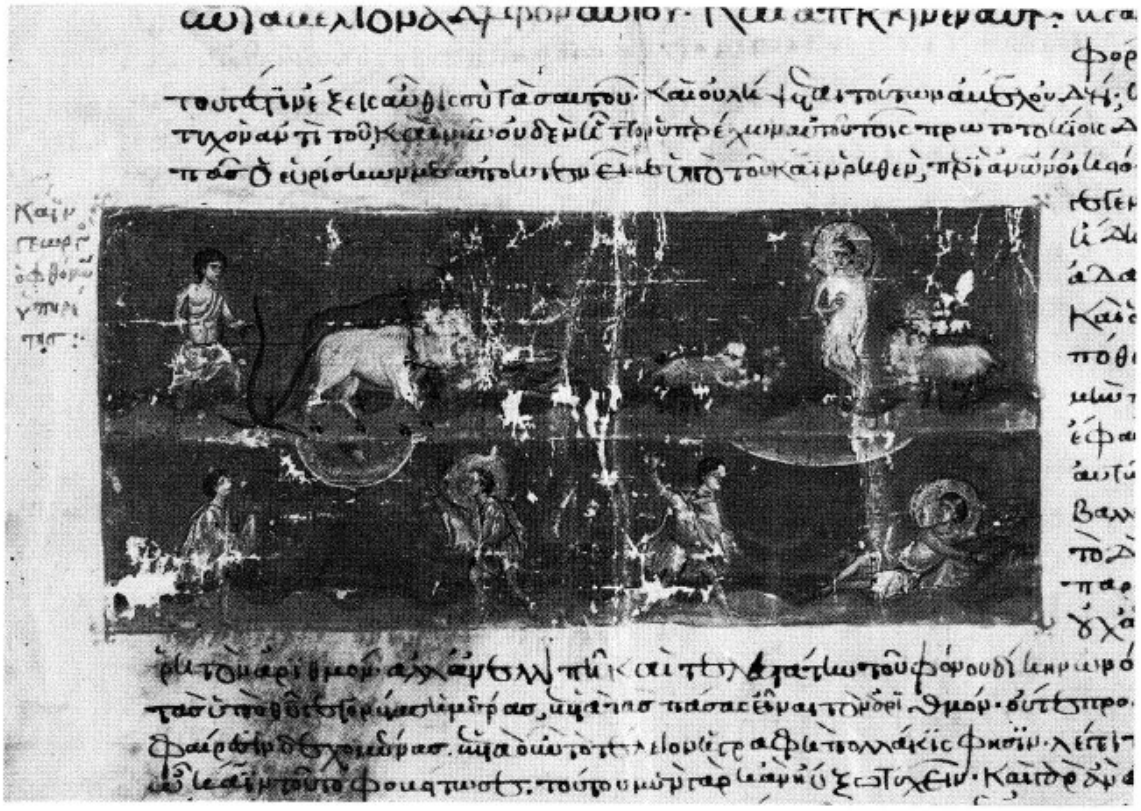


Fig. 42 Rome, Bib. Vat. Gr. 746, fol. 746 (twelfth century)

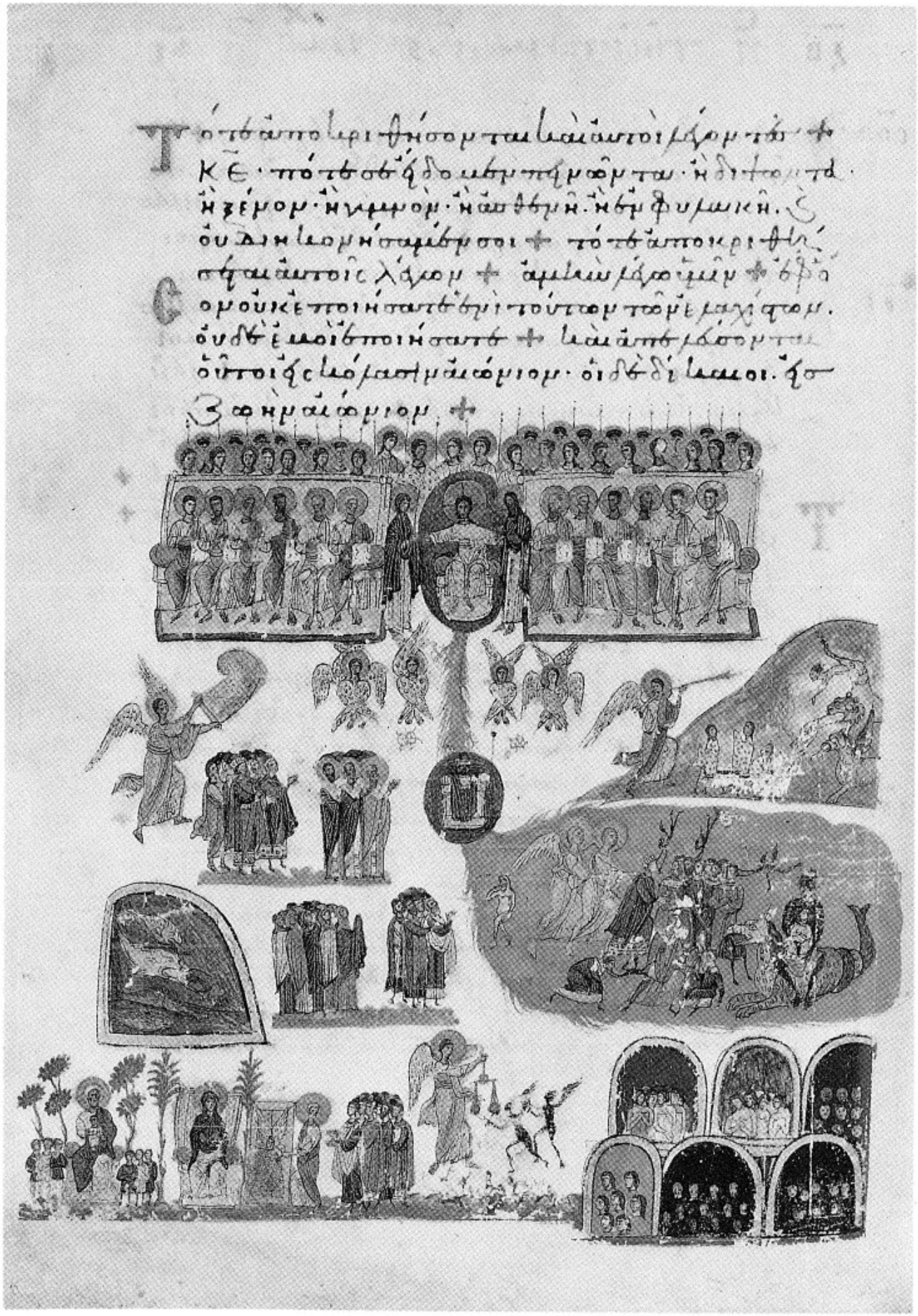


Fig. 46 Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 74, fol. 51 v (eleventh century)

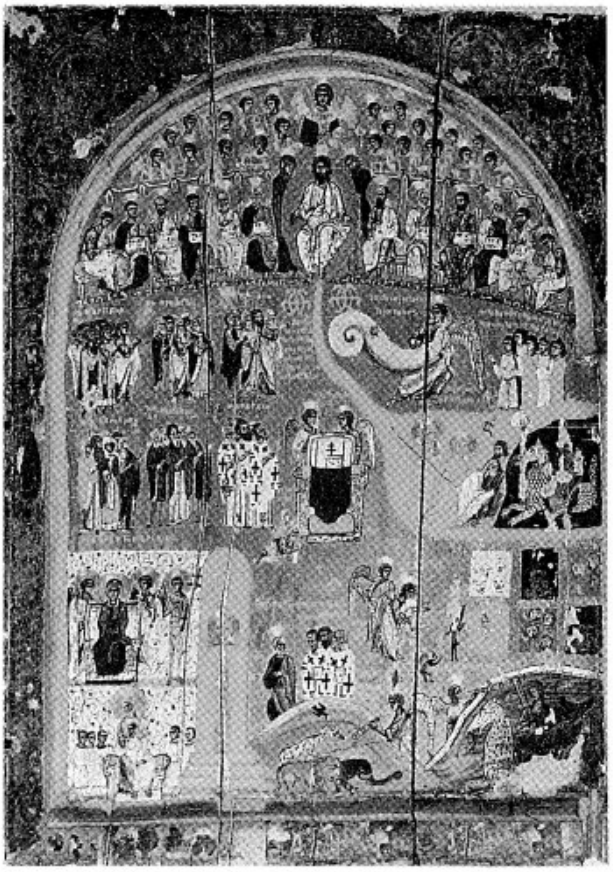


Fig. 47 St Catherine Mon., Sinai, icon, Last Judgment (twelfth century)

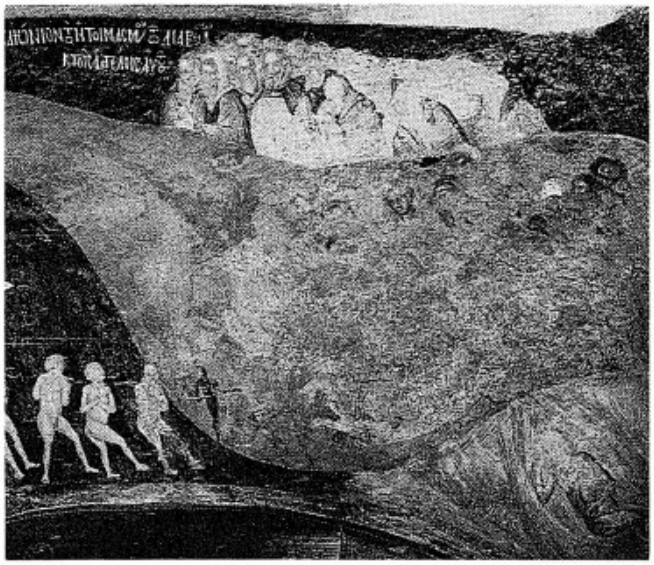


Fig. 48 Istanbul, Karje Djami, Last Judgment (fourteenth century)

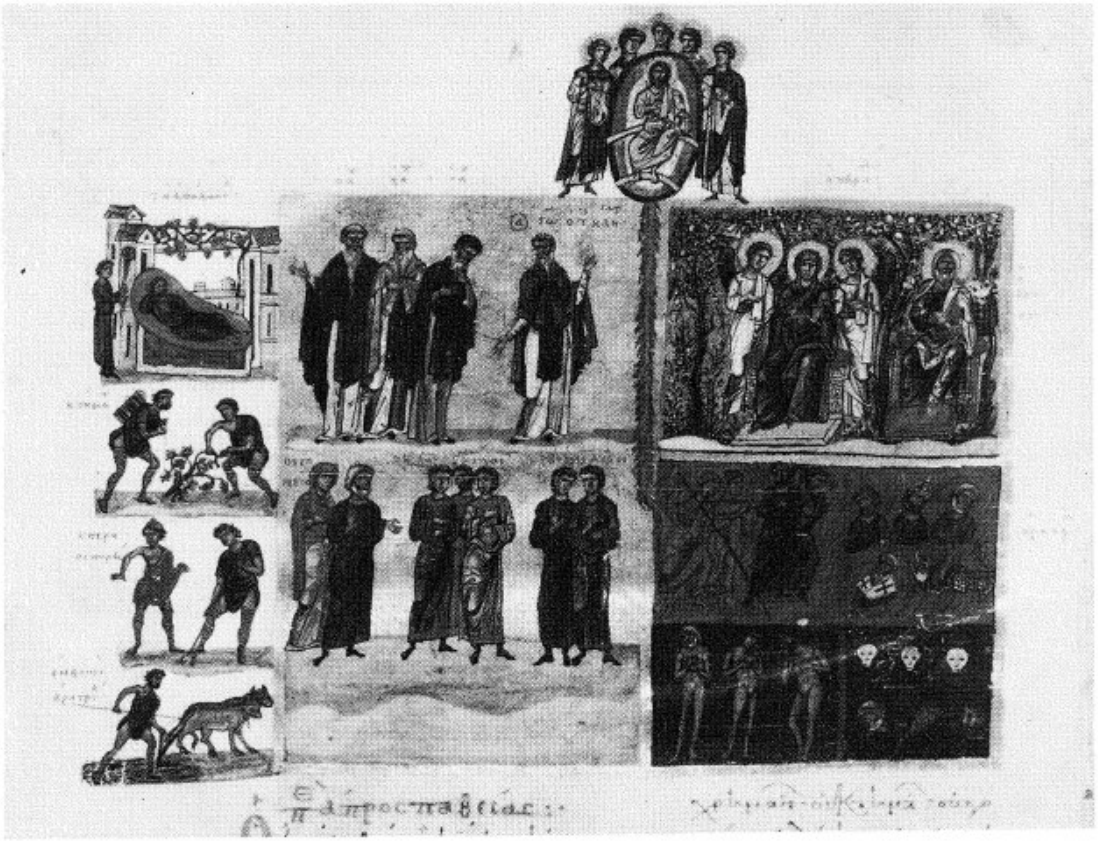


Fig. 49 Rome, Bib. Vat. Gr. 394, fol. 12 v (eleventh century)

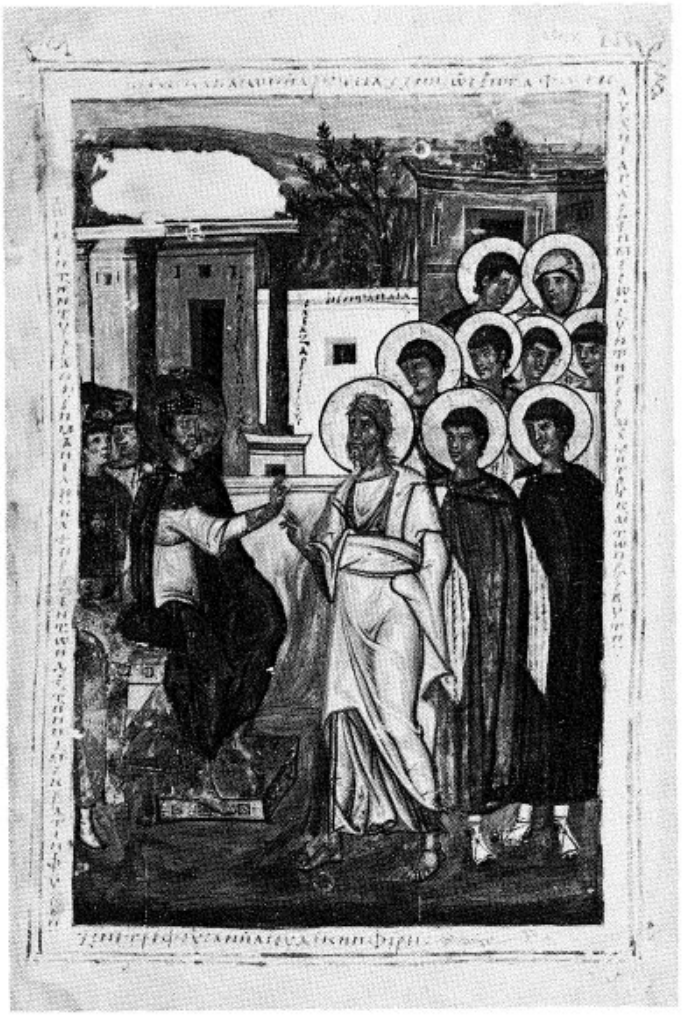


Fig. 52 Rome, Bib. Vat. Reg. Gr. 1, fol. 450 v
(tenth century)

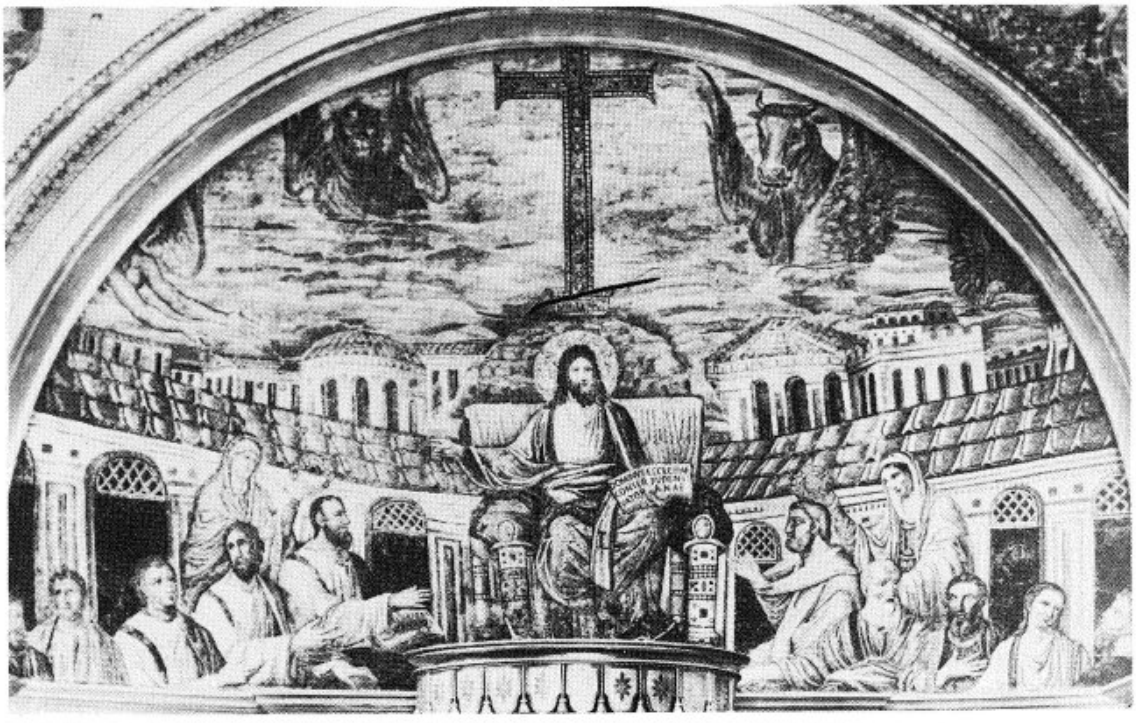


Fig. 53. Rome, Santa Pudenziana, Apse mosaic (fifth century)

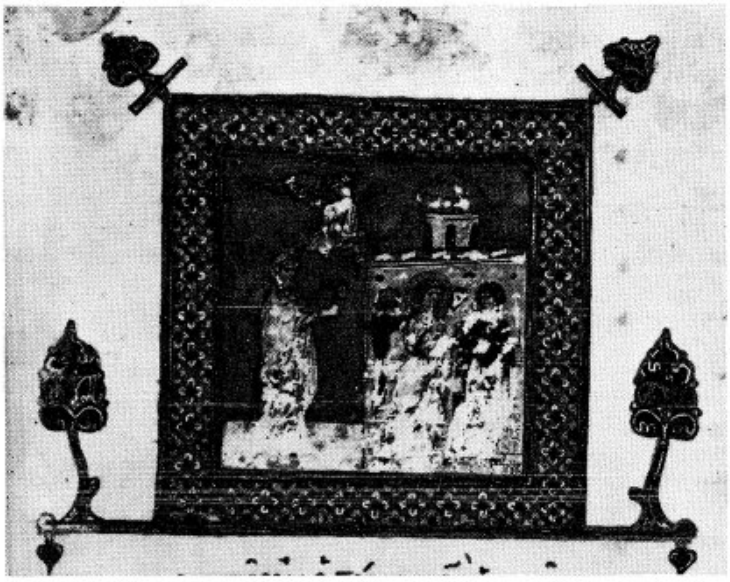


Fig. 56 Paris, Bibl. Nat. Coislin 239, fol. 22 (twelfth century)

Fig. 58 Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 550, fol. 30 (twelfth century)

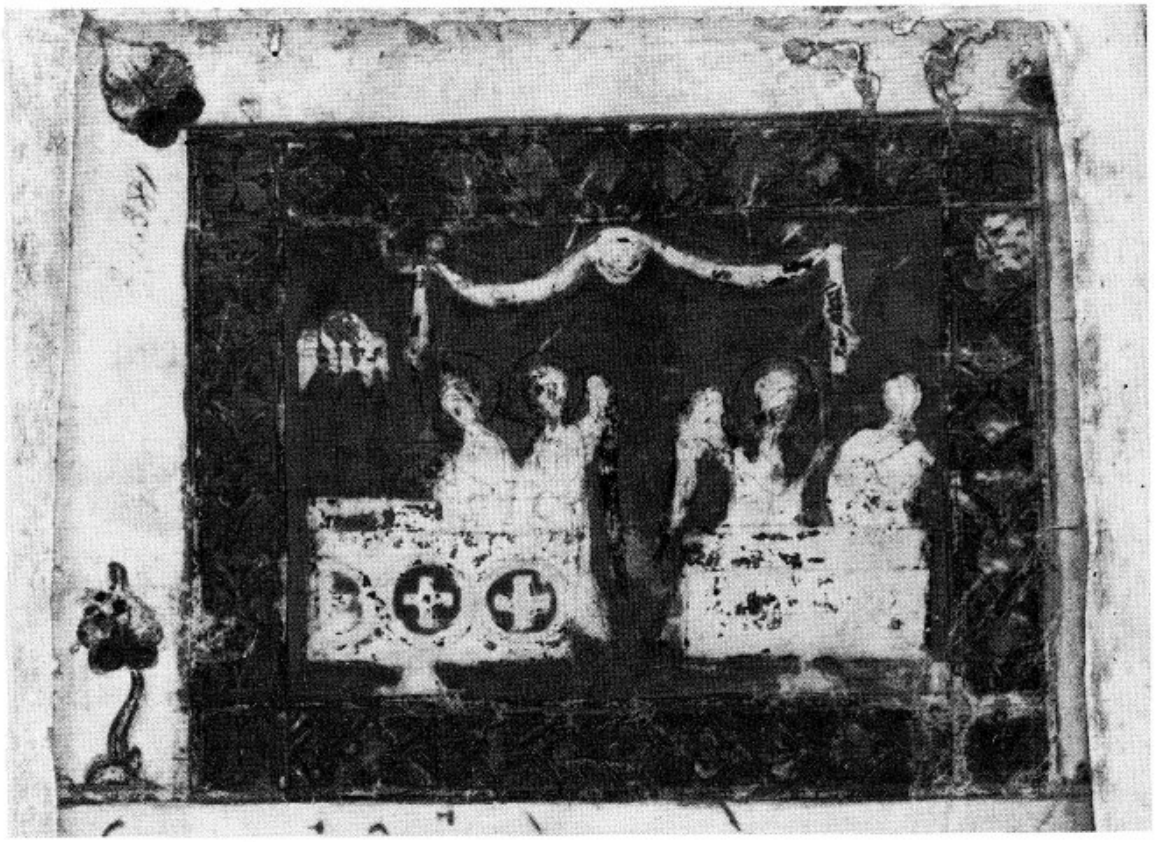


Fig. 57 London, Br. Mus. Add. 24381, fol. 2 (twelfth century)

Fig. 59 Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Univ. Bibl. Ms V. 1102/I-II, Vol. II, fol. 164 v (fourteenth century)

Fig. 60 Parma, Bib. Palat. 3006, De Rossi 654, fol. 99 v (fourteenth century)

Fig. 62 New York, Jewish Theological Seminary Ms Rothschild II, fol. 125 (fifteenth century)

Fig. 61 Hamburg, Staats und Univ. Bibl. Cod. Hebr. 37, fol. 114 (fifteenth century)

Fig. 63 Jerusalem, Israel Museum Ms 180/51, fol. 105 v (fifteenth century)

Fig. 66 Hamburg, Staats und Univ. Bibl. Cod. Hebr. 37, fol. 79 v (fifteenth century)

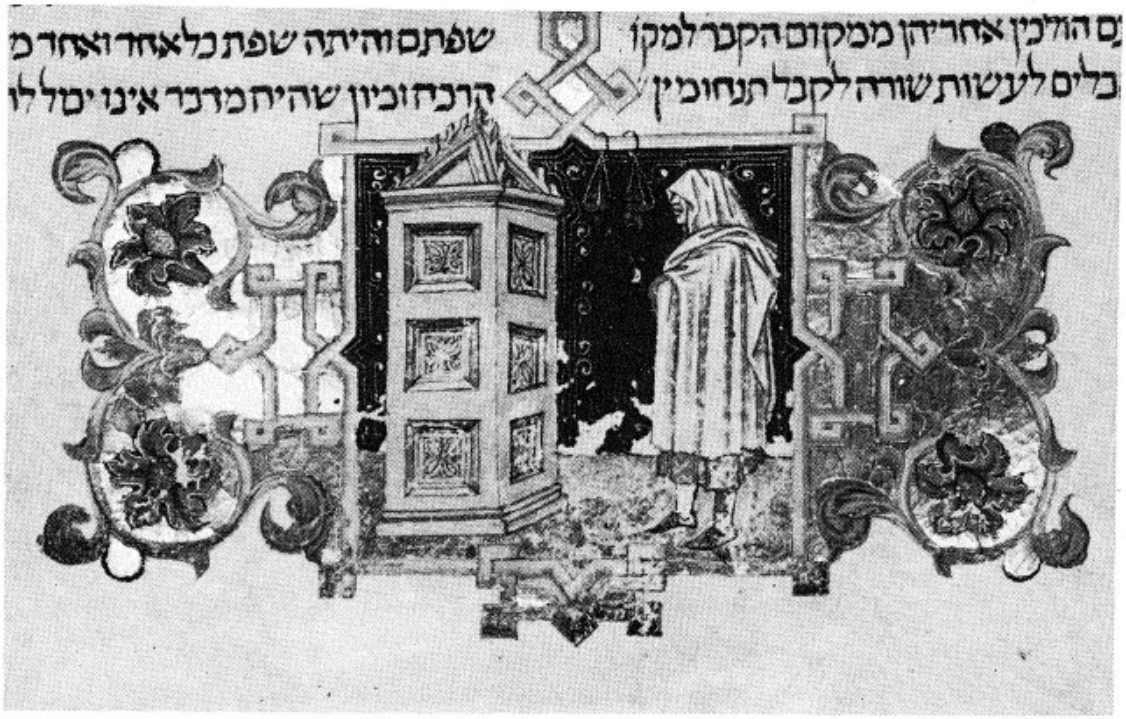


Fig. 64 Jerusalem, Nat. and Univ. Lib. Hebr. 4° 1193, fol. 33 v (fourteenth century)

Fig. 72 *Hortus Deliciarum* (ed. A. D. Caratzas), fol. 255 (twelfth century)

Fig. 73 Nicolas of Verdun, Altar of Klosterneuburg, Circumcision of Samson (thirteenth century)

Fig. 74 London, Br. Mus. Add. Ms 48 985, fol. 29 (thirteenth century)

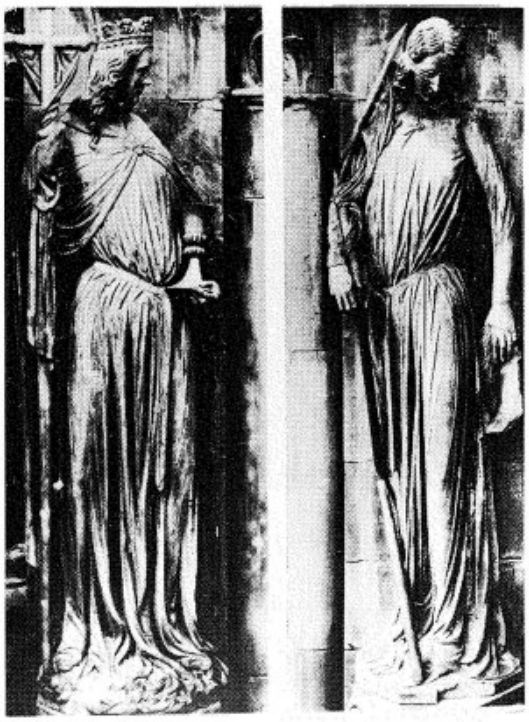
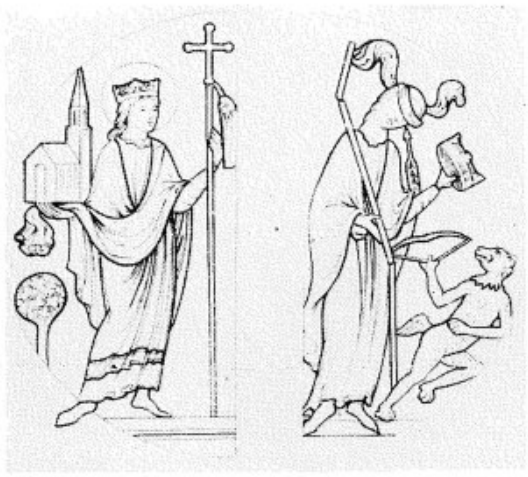


Fig. 82 London, Victoria and Albert Mus. Nr 250.67 (ninth century)

Fig. 83 Strasburg, cathedral, Mus. Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Ecclesia and Synagoga (thirteenth century)

Fig. 84 Marburg, St. Elisabeth, stain-glass window, Ecclesia and Synagoga (thirteenth century)

Fig. 85 Chartres, Notre Dame, detail of Passion stain-glass window (after Cahier and Martin), Ecclesia and Synagoga (thirteenth century)



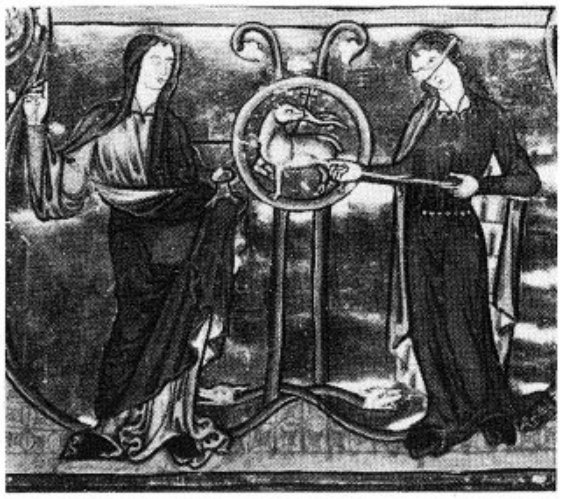


Fig. 86 Missel of Noyon, Baltimore, Coll. P. Hofer, Ecclesia and Synagoga (thirteenth century)

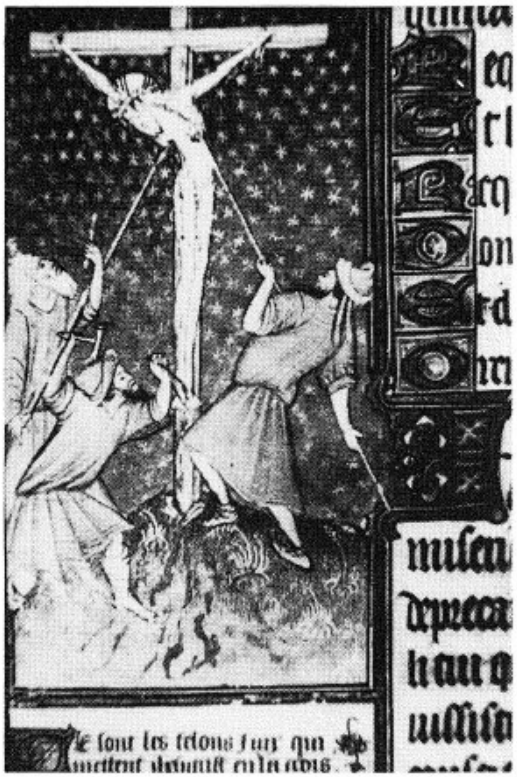
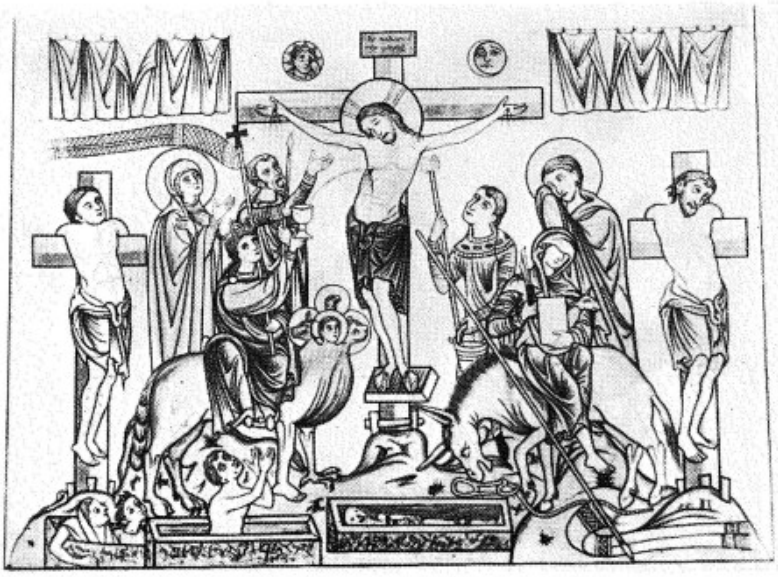


Fig. 87 Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 9471, fol. 49 (fifteenth century)

Fig. 88 Hannover, Nieders. Landesgal., Pöhlde, cloister, Synagoga (thirteenth century)

Fig. 89 *Hortus Deliciarum* (ed. A. D. Caratzas), fol. 150 (twelfth century)



THE IMAGE OF THE JEW IN BYZANTINE ART

Elisabeth Revel-Neher

THE IMAGE OF THE JEW IN BYZANTINE ART is the first study of the relationship between the attitude to the Jews in contemporary texts and their corresponding representation in Eastern art.

The analysis initially explores the documented antisemitic attitude of the Eastern Church and its pervasive influence on the role of the Byzantine Emperors. However, the author's discussion of the many illustrations of contemporary images (most reproduced in the West for the first time) shows that, unlike the Western art of the period, the Byzantine images aimed at an objective reflection of daily reality and were not subject to the antisemitic doctrines of the Church. The authenticity of the images is the hallmark of the Byzantine attitude to the Jews, in stark contrast to the grotesque and caricatural images of Western iconography.

Dr Elisabeth Revel-Neher is a Senior Lecturer in Medieval Art History and a former Head of the Department at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She specializes in biblical iconography in Jewish and Byzantine art and has published widely on these subjects. She is the author of *Le Signe de la Rencontre: L'Arche d'Alliance dans l'art juif et chrétien du second au dixième siècles*, Paris, 1984.

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